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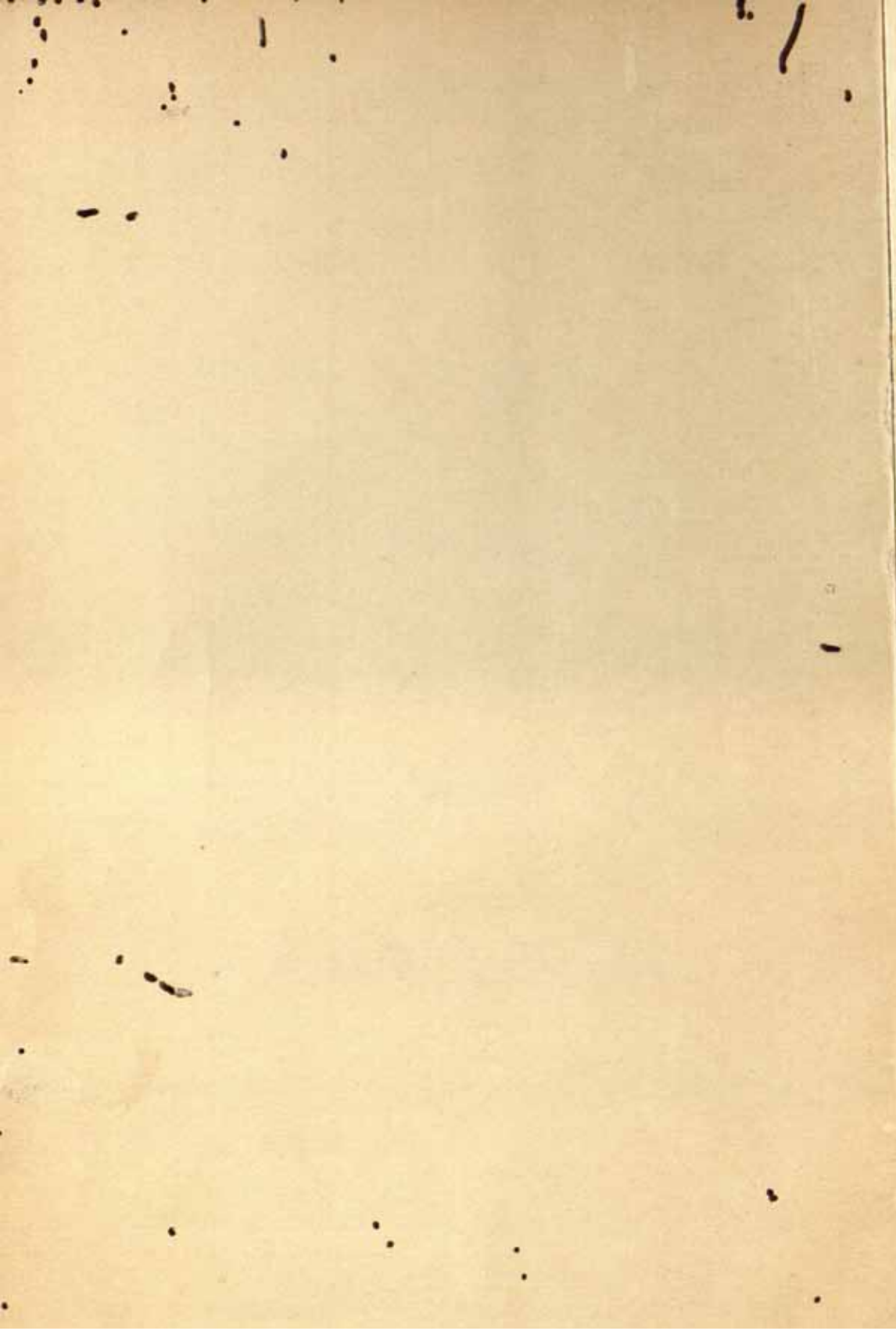
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# ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III  
PART II



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**ZEUS** *do*  
*20.8.56*

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION - *Vol. III Pt 2*

BY  
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VOLUME III

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY  
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,  
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

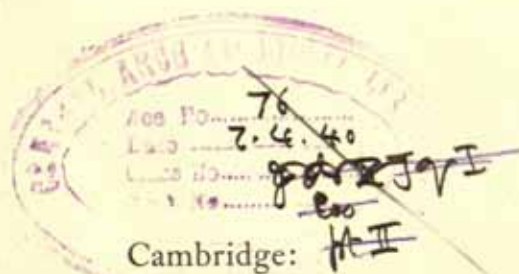
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PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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## APPENDIX P.

### FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph<sup>1</sup>. But examples of them are given by Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, and the anonymous author *de aquis mirabilibus* 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion (Phot. *bibl.* p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* by H. Oehler Tubingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>6</sup> München 1920 ii. 420 f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration:

(1) Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (*Od.* 10. 3 πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ as explained by Aristarchos *ap. schol.* H.M.Q.T.V. *Od.* 10. 3, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 132, 18 f., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 51 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* πλωτή, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλωτόν, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 18 f., Soud. *s.v.* πλωτή νῆσος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* πλωτή, and W. W. Merry *ad loc.*), which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (*supra* p. 109). On it see further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1032 ff.

(2) The Homeric Planktai were beetling rocks against which the waves broke. No birds could pass them in safety. Even the doves that brought ambrosia to Zeus always lost one of their number, and another had to be sent by him in its stead. Never yet had any ship escaped these rocks, for billows of salt water and blasts of destructive fire overwhelmed ships and crews alike. The Argo alone, on its voyage from Aietes, had passed them, being sent past in safety by Hera for Iason's sake (*Od.* 12. 59—72, 23. 327). There is no question here of clashing rocks, between which Odysseus must go (*schol. Pind. Pyth.* 4. 370). The poet, anxious to eliminate incredible marvels (*supra* ii. 989), has substituted παρά for διά (62 παρέρχεται, 69 παρέπλω, 72 παρέπεμψεν) and left us to suppose that the danger lay in being dashed against the rocks, not in being crushed between them. Nevertheless the name Πλαγκταί used of them by the blessed gods (61) implies that they were originally conceived as 'Wandering' rocks, and the sinister phrase ἀλλά τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρείται λῆε πέτρῃ (64) looks like a reminiscence of the clashing motif.

The Kyaneai (first in Soph. *Ant.* 966 or Hdt. 4. 85) or Symplegades (first in Eur. *Med.* 431) of the Argonauts' adventure were two living rocks which rushed together, rolling faster than the winds (*Pind. Pyth.* 4. 208 ff.). As early as s. v B.C., if not earlier, they were located on the Thracian Bosphoros (Soph. *Ant.* 966 f. and Hdt. 4. 85) at the entrance to the Euxine (Eur. *I.T.* 124 f.), where they formed

<sup>1</sup> Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston 'Floating islands, ancient and modern' in the *Classical Weekly* 1925—1926 xix. 58, L. R. Shero 'The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa' *ib.* 1933—1934 xxvii. 51 f., J. W. Spaeth 'More floating islands' *ib.* p. 78, R. M. Geer 'Floating islands once more' *ib.* p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing 'Nautisches zu Homeros. 6. ΠΛΩΤΗ ΕΝΙ ΝΗΩΙ' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1886 xxxii. 85—92 and E. Hawks *The Book of Natural Wonders* London 1932 pp. 192—198 ('Disappearing Islands').



the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 f., Nikeph. Greg. *hist. Byz.* 5. 4 (i. 134 Schopen)). Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance (Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.); how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (*ib.* 2. 549 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them (Ap. Rhod. 2. 596, 2. 645, and *Καίνου κτίου frag.* 5. 4 Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 1 ff. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1285), from the Homeric Planktai. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Planktai, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops (Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff.) in obvious reference to the Lipari Islands (cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 f. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν (sc. Hephaistos) ἐς χαλκῶνα καὶ ἄκροναι ἤρι βεβήκει, | νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς εὐρύνυχον with schol. *ad loc.*).

Many of the Greeks, however, identified the Kyaneai or Symplegades of the Bosphoros with the Planktai (so first, perhaps, Hdt. 4. 85, then Asklepiades (? of Myrleia: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1629) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 12. 69 and other *πρώτοι* (schol. Eur. *Med.* 2) listed by O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2546). And sundry Roman poets, placing Scylla in Sicilian waters, associate her with clashing rocks (Ov. *met.* 7. 62 ff.) called Symplegades (Ov. *her.* 12. 121) or Cyaneae (Iuv. 15. 19 f.).

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen *loc. cit.*, viz. that both the Planktai and the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead 'hatte aneinander schlagende Berge...zu passiren,' Jülg 'über die griechische Heldensage im Wiederscheine bei den Mongolen' in the *Verh. d. 26. Philologen-versamml. in Würzburg* 1869 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 'Von da weiterhin kommst du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden; um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen,' E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*<sup>2</sup> London 1891 i. 347 f. the Karens of Burma 'say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset,' *ib.* i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon; as the sky rose, Iosco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* Strassburg 1882 p. 550 in a Slovenian tale the hero's mother 'stellt sich krank und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen,' *ib.* p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother 'stellt sich krank und verlangt...das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt,' *ib.* in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother 'stellt sich krank und schickt den Sohn...nach heilemdem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,' W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the



same type. In one 'the hero is sent in search of "a healing and a vivifying water," preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during "two or three minutes" of each day.... "Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back." He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience.... In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails,' M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale Floria, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra (*supra* ii. 1004 ff.) the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, *ib.* ii. 280 f. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (= von Hahn's nineteenth formula 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel'), the hero's mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (*ἀθάνατο νερό*): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (*ἡ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοῦ παιδιοῦ*), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs; he is guided to the right one by a bee, *ib.* ii. 283 f. in a variant from Vitza in Epeiros the prince's elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, *ib.* i. 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldyllocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap; he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, *ib.* ii. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king's daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Köhler in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1871 ii. 1403 f. no. (3) = *id. Kleinere Schriften* Weimar 1898 i. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king's son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality (*\* ἀθάνατο νερό*) 'welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergehen und wieder zusammenstossen' [*... ebenso bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenzig Westslaw. Märchenschatz S. 148*]. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 90—104 ('Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 iii. 394—401 ('Das Wasser des Lebens'). A seafaring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok 'continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them;

and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 158 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were 'an early attempt to reproduce some sailor's story of the floating icebergs' (W. W. Merry on *Od.* 12. 61) and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea (cp. for the facts E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 6). Both alike are but mariners' versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.

See further F. Wieseler *commentatio de Cyaneis sive Symplegadibus* Gottingae 1879 pp. 1—20, O. Jessen 'Planktai' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2540—2548, Sir J. G. Frazer in his ed. of Apollodoros London—New York 1921 ii. 355—358 (Append. v 'The Clashing Rocks'), Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 79 f.

(3) As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives (Dionys. *per.* 394 ff. *ἐνθα σφιν τέρας ἄλλο θεοὶ θέσαν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἶαν | κείνην ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο πέτραι, | αἷρ' ἄμφοσιν ἐννείασι δονέμεναι, εὐτέ τις ἀρχὴ | γίγνεται ἐνναίησι κυλινδομένοιο κακοῖο* with Eustath. *ad loc.* Tzet. *chil.* 4. 707 ff. confuses these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context): this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros (Strab. 149), transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles (Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 64). Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (? Lykia A.B.C.) and Pamphylia (Tzet. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. *Καύρου κτίους frag.* 5. 3 f. Powell *op. Cramer anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 4 f.).

(4) An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre. Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles 'Ἀστροχίτων how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiai Petrai. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle (467 ff. *εἰσόκε χώρον ἱκοισθε μεμορμένον, ὅππῃθι διῶσαι | ἀσταβίης πλώουσιν ἀλήμονες εἰν ἂν πέτραι, | ἃς Φύσις 'Ἀμβροσίας ἐπέφημυσεν, αἵε ἔνι θάλλει | ἥλικος αὐτόρριζον ὁμόζυγον ἔρνος ἐλαίης, | πέτρης ὑγροπόροιο μεσόμενον· ἀκροτάτοις δὲ | αἰετὸν ἀθρήσητε παρεδρήσσοντα κορύμβοις | καὶ φιάλην εὐτυκτον· ἀπὸ φλογεροῖο δὲ δένδρον | θαμβαλίονε σπινθήρας ἐρεύγεται αὐτόματον πῦρ, | καὶ σέλας ἀφλεγίος περιβάσκειται ἔρνος ἐλαίης· | καὶ φυτὸν ὑψιπέτηλον ἐλιξ ὄφης ἀμφιχορεύει, | κ.τ.λ.). They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to *Kyanocheites*, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaming hills and to*



Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilles Tatios, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2. 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—*νήσος τις πόλις ἐστὶ φυτάνυμον αἶμα λαχούσα, | ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἡπείρου φέρονσα, | ἐνθ' Ἡφαίστος ἔχων χαίρει γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθῆνην· | κεῖθι θυηπολίην σε φέρειν κέδομαι Ἡρακλεῖ* (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 34)—and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-strait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaistos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina* Göttingen 1918 p. 146 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero: 'Er kam zu Schäms ed-Duhha und fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: "Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagereise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Bergen zusammen. Sein Lebtage ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schöpfe es (das Wasser) von oben aus." Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwebte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie kam auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flog hin, füllte die Flasche und flog auf. Und während er aufflog, schlugen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und rupften ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zur Schäms ed-Duhha.' It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosiai Petrai as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla (211—217 A.D.) to Salonina (253—268 A.D.), have for reverse type the **ΑΜΒΡΟCΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ** or **ΠΑΙΤΡΕ** (*sic*). These are shown sometimes as two *omphaloi* on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 15 = my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebonianus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus i, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Iulia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus iii, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos = my fig. 784 from a cast), sometimes as two *stélai* on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming *thymiatérion* on one side and an olive-tree on the other (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 14 = my fig. 785 from a cast, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 270 no. 58 Gordianus iii pl. 77, 9 = my fig. 786, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus iii pl. 37, 16). Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a *phiale* over a burning altar, above which are seen the two *stélai*, with streams issuing from their bases (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 281 no. 427

Gordianus iii pl. 33, 13 = my fig. 787 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 321 f. no. 2198 Caracalla pl. 36, 16, p. 330 no. 2253 Aquilia Severa, p. 341 no. 2309 Valerianus i pl. 38, 8, p. 346 no. 2342 Gallienus: p. 341 no. 2308 Valerianus i pl. 38, 7 has trophy in place of altar). Okeanos, reclining, with head-dress of crab's claws, holds in his left hand an oar and extends his right towards the *stélai*, from which streams flow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 289 no. 464 Valerianus i, p. 296 no. 497 Salonina pl. 35, 5 = my fig. 788 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2343 Gallienus pl. 38, 20).



Fig. 783.



Fig. 784.



Fig. 785.



Fig. 786.



Fig. 787.



Fig. 788.



Fig. 789.

Europe, standing to front, with basket or vase: on the left, Zeus in the form of a bull emerges from the sea; above him are the *omphaloi* with an olive-tree between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 290 no. 468 Valerianus i pl. 34, 13 = my fig. 789 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2348 Gallienus pl. 38, 23, *supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402 Gallienus, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 20 pl. 3, 40 = Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 71 pl. 7, 6 = W. H. Roscher *Neue Omphalosstudien* Leipzig 1915 pp. 15 n. 34, 71 fig. Gallienus).

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosiai Petrai back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilles Tatios, our earliest literary authority, and some two centuries earlier than Nonnos. As is so often the case, the earliest conception



is the simplest. Here are seen two *omphaloi* or *stélai* with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of *ambrosia*. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir (for the Water of Life as honey see e.g. *Kalevala* 15. 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby, cp. W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*<sup>2</sup> iii. 390 'profluente subitus aqua, nimirum quod

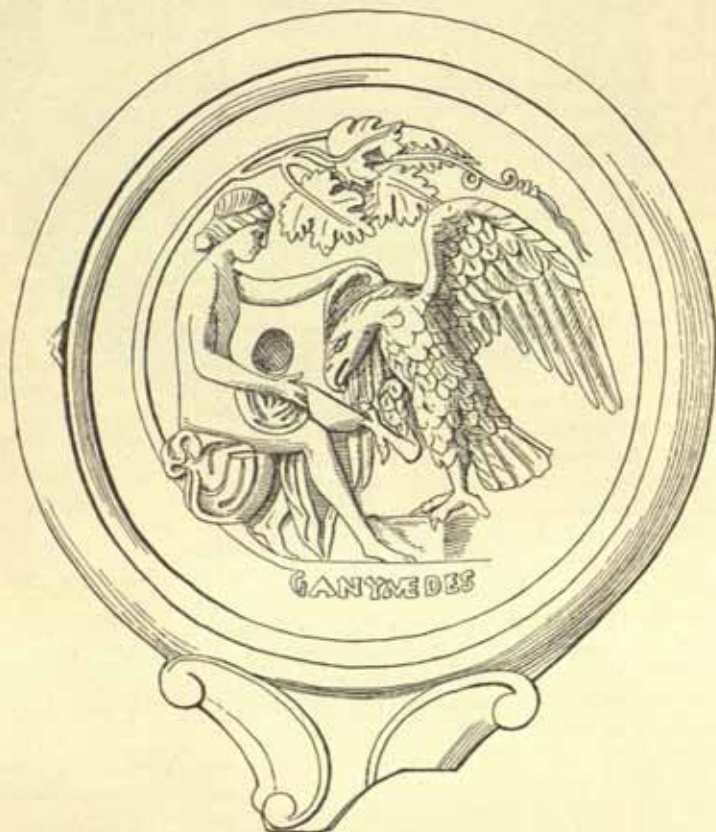


Fig. 790.

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.' Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the *phidde*. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on *ambrosia* from the *phidde* of Ganymedes (e.g. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 2, 489 no. 2. I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession (scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ ), cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxix, (1) the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletropolis (*Melde*) acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches); (2) an exact



replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the *sarcophagus* at Rome (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 87 pl. 9, 19 = Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24 = Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 370 no. 2) it becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is 'wohl eine Personification des Berges Ida.' I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ide (E. Neustadt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 880), or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia (K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1809), from whom Ganymedes has received the bowl. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 546 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth: cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff.), partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance (*supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164, 1911 lxiii. 208—214, republished with modifications and additions in his *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs'), S. Ronzevalle in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth* 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' 1912 v. 2. 117—178, 221—231, L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20, Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 181—187). The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phoenician Ba'al-shamin (*supra* i. 191 f. fig. 138) and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or *omphalos* on other bronze coins of Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33, 8 = my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37, 5, p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37, 29). This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance: cp. Epikouros *ap. Epiphan. panar. haeres.* 1. 8. 1 (i. 294 Dindorf) = H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 589, 11 ff. εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς φῶς διήκει τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδὲς περὶ τὸ φῶς ὡς στέφανον ἢ ὡς ζώνην περισφίγγειν τότε τὴν φύσιν. θελήσαν δὲ βιασμῷ τινὶ + καιρῷ (Diels cj. καὶ σφ. cp. Aristot. *de caelo* 4. 6 313 b 5) περισσότηρ σφίγγει τὴν πᾶσαν ἔλην εἴτ' οὖν φύσιν τῶν πάντων, οὕτω διχάσαι μὲν τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων τὰ ἴστω διακεκρίσθαι.



Fig. 791.

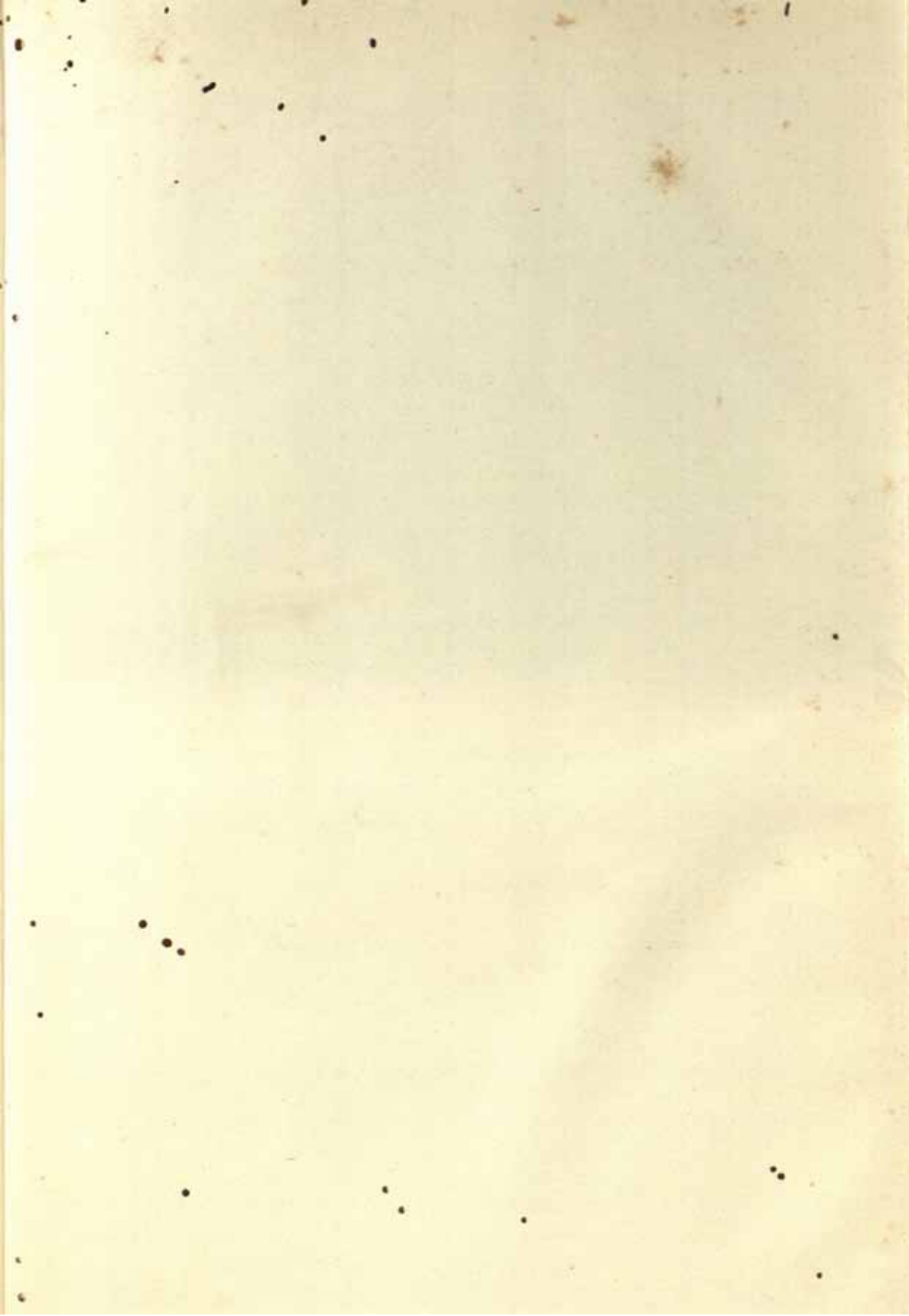
It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosiai Petrai (pace J. F. Vaillant *Numismata aerea Imperatorum, Augustorum, et Caesarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbibus iure Latio donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Parisiis 1695 ii. 101 fig., 151 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.* iii. 389, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 828. Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me (April 8, 1926) with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: 'There is something twining (?) round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel...'. Lastly, the fire, which Achilles Tatios makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming *thymiatérion* or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or *ambrosia* that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

Now the whole of this ambrosial business has a suspiciously Hellenistic look about it, and we may well surmise that it has been grafted on to older beliefs of indigenous growth. Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. cxli



- (1) A bronze mirror-case in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge:  
Ganymedes feeds the Eagle in the presence of a Nymph.
- (2) A similar mirror-case in the Lloyd collection, Cambridge.

*See page 981.*





very pertinently asks: 'Have these two baetyls any connexion with the two stelae dedicated by "Ousoos" to fire and wind?' Ousoos, the eponym of Ušû or Palai-Tyros (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (*supra* ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoos invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoos caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two *stélai* to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured as a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the *stélai* (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 10 f. δένδρον δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Ὀῦσσον καὶ ἀποκλαδεύσαντα πρῶτον τολμήσαι εἰς θάλατταν ἐμβῆναι· ἀνιερῶσαι δὲ δύο στήλας Πυρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, αἷμα τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἤγρενε θηρίων. τούτων δὲ τελευτησάντων, τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ῥάβδους αὐτοῖς ἀφιερῶσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τούτοις ἑορτὰς ἄγειν κατ' ἔτος). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (*supra* ii. 1036 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic *stélai* (cp. *supra* ii. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosiai Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of *stélai*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: 'Es sind die zwei Masseben, die Usōos...dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die *dissoi pétrai* schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen "ambrosische" Felsen steckt hier in Palaityros natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa 'amm bēroth "Mutter der Quellen" oder dgl.'

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktai or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (*supra* p. 978 n. o (3)). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. 5 p. 167 Kayser ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσή, ἀνάκειται δὲ κακείνῃ ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μὲν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, ᾧ εἰκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύνει γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθον—noted by A. J. Wensinck *op. cit.* p. 19).

(5) Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 903 ff.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutike Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chembis (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 442 'the Island of Khebit'), which was sacred to Apollon (Hekataios *frag.* 284 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 20 Müller) = *frag.* 305 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 40 Jacoby) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χέμμις). According to Herodotos, the lake near the sanctuary at Bouto was deep and wide; the island carried a great temple of Apollon with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having

an oracle at Bouto, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38), which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boubastis (Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Mela 1. 55 Chemmis, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 60 f. Ἐχουμε). The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udō, on whom see K. Sethe *loc. cit.* iii. 1086 f., H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpent-king of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel *op. cit.* p. 636, cp. *id.* *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythos und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 18 ff.). Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemmis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar,' the source of the Greek floating island Delos (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2, cp. *ib.* p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du iii<sup>e</sup> au i<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., *id.* *Delos colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. ('Divinités égyptiennes')).

(6) When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a froward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (*h. Ap.* 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it: then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. *frag.* 87+88 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, Schröder *ap.* Theophr. *ap.* Philon. *de incorrupt. mundi* 23 p. 511 Mangey+Strab. 485, schol. *Od.* 10. 3, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 464, 6 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. *frag.* 73 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 f. Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 525, Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 6, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 3). L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar *loc. cit.* says ἄν τε βροτοὶ | Δῶλον κελεύσκοισιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τηλέφαντον κυανίας χθονὸς ἄστρον—hinting at the old name Ἀστερία (*supra* i. 543 n. 6) and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Sappho und Simonides* Berlin 1913 p. 131 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Rätselraten, aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Götter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen'; etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third: ἀλλ' ἄφ' ἑτος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες, οὐνομα δ' ἦν σοι | Ἀστερίη τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἦλαο τάφρον | οὐρανὸθεν φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον ἀστέρι ἴση (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.).

The story of Delos, once afloat but now fixed for ever, was popularised by Virgil and became a commonplace in later literature (Varro *ap.* Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 7. 39, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73 ff. with Serv. and interp. Serv. *ad loc.*, Prop. 4. 6. 27,



Ov. *her.* 21. 82 ff., *met.* 6. 186 ff., 333 ff., *Sen. nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 3 f., *Ag.* 384 ff., *H.f.* 15, 457, *Petron. de Delo* 1 ff. (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 101 Baehrens), *Plin. nat. hist.* 4. 66, *Stat. Ach.* 1. 388, *Theb.* 7. 182 ff., 8. 197 f., *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1. 701, 3. 439, 7. 182, *Paneg.* 3. 18 Jäger = 4 (9). 18. 2 Bährens, *Claud. 1 in Prob. et Olyb. cons.* 185, 35 *de rapt. Pros.* 2. 34 f., *carm. min. append.* 2 *laudes Herculis* (p. 1418 Weber). 62 = A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*<sup>2</sup> Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 54 *carm.* 494<sup>b</sup>. 62, *Dracont.* 10. 594 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 214 Baehrens), *Eustath. in Od.* p. 1644, 52 ff., *in Dionys. per.* 561). The fullest form of the tale is that given by *Serv. in Verg. Aen.* 3. 73 (= *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4. 795, 5. 533, and *Ach.* 1. 206, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8. 3, cp. *Hyg. fab.* 53, 140, *Isid. orig.* 14. 6. 21 = *Antonini Augusti itinerarium maritimum* p. 527 Wesseling) post vitiatam Latonam Iuppiter cum etiam eius sororem Asterien vitare vellet, illa optavit a diis ut in avem converteretur, versaue in coturnicem est. et cum vellet maria transfretare, quod coturnicem est, adflata a Iove et in lapidem conversa diu sub fluctibus latuit. postea supplicante Iovi Latona levata superferri aquis coepit. haec primo Neptuno et Doridi fuit consecrata. postea, cum Iuno gravidam Pythone inmisso Latonam persequeretur, terris omnibus expulsa, tandem aliquando adplicante se litoribus sorore suscepta est, et illic Dianam primo, post Apollinem peperit. qui statim occiso Pythone ultus est matris iniuriam. sane nata Diana parturienti Apollinem matri dicitur praeuisse obstetricis officium. unde, cum Diana sit virgo, tamen a parturientibus invocatur. haec namque est Diana, Iuno, Proserpina. nata igitur duo numina terram sibi natalem errare non passa sunt, sed eam duabus insulis reliquerunt. etc.

*Aristot. frag.* 446 *Rose ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 4. 66 (*Solin.* 11. 18) thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in *schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 308 and expanded in *et. mag.* p. 264, 23 ff. *Δῆλος· ἡ ἱερὰ* (so F. Sylburg for *ἡ ἱερία* codd. F. G. Sturz cj. *ἡ ἱερὰ* after *Favorin. lex.* p. 475, 21) τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἰρηται ὅτι κρυπτομένην αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὁ Ζεὺς δῆλον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέδωκεν ἵνα τέκη ἡ Λητώ (so, or with τέκος, F. Sylburg for ἵνα ἡ Λητώ codd. A. Berkel cj. ἵνα ἀνέβη Λητώ). Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐρασθεὶς Λητοῦς, τῆς Κοῖου θυγατρὸς ἐνὸς τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοῖβης, ἔγκυον αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν· ἦτις, διακομησαίον χρόνον διαγενομένη, παρεγένετο διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς Ἀστέριον (Ἀστερίαν A. B. C.) τὴν ἡῶσαν, μίαν οὖσαν τῶν Κυκλάδων· ἐκεῖ τε ἐλθοῦσα καὶ ἀψαμένη δύο φυτῶν ἐλαίας καὶ φοίνικος, διδύμους ἀπέκνησε παῖδας Ἀρτεμὺν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα· καὶ τὴν ἡῶσαν ἐκάλεσε Δῆλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀδῆλου βάσεως ἐρριζώθη. *Plin. nat. hist.* 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and *Amm. Marc.* 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type (*brasmatae*, cp. *brastae* *Apul. de mund.* 18)).

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it (F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1843 ii. 338, *ib.* 1845 iii. 270, K. Wernicke in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* ii. 1398, *Gruppe Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2). An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross (*Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae* Athenis 1842 ii. 72—74 no. 190) tells how Artemis appointed as her *hydrophoros* a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos (?), and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 872. 1 ff. = *Cougny Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann *Berolini* 1860) ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. αὐτῇ παρθενικῇ ἐλαφηβόλος ἀρήγειραν | θήκατο κυθ[αλίμ]ην Γ[λα]υκίῳ θυγάτρῃ, | ὑδροφόρον Βῆραν Πατίνην παραβώμῃ | ἐφέξει (Kaibel prints παραβώμια ῥέξαι) | σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν ἔμβρυα καλλιθῶρων. | [εἰν Ἀργεῖ δ' ἐτράφη γ]ρ[α]ρῇ π[α]τρὶ, ἥδ' ἐτιθῆνης (Kaibel prints ἡ δὲ

τιθήνη) | ἐκ γενεᾆς Β[η]ρου] ἑκτροφός ἐστι Πάτμος, | νῆσ(σ)ος ἀ[γα]λ[υ]τάτη Δητῶιδος  
 ἢ προβέβηκε | [β]ίνθεσιν [εἰν ἀλῆς] ἑδρανα ῥυομένη· | [εἰς ὅτε μιν Σκυθ]ῆ[ν]θεν ἀρῆσις  
 εἰσαν Ὀρίστη | [ῥ]υσαμένην στυγερ]ῆς μητροφόνου μανίης· | [κάρ] δεκά[τη] κούρη  
 θυγ[άτηρ] σοφοῦ ἡγήτορος | Γλαυκί[εω]ν α]ύλαϊς Ἀρτεμίδος Σκυθίης, | Αἰγαίου πλεύσασα  
 ῥόον δυσχείμερον οἰσμα, | ὅρμα κ[αὶ] θαλίην, ὥς θέμις, ἡγλάσεν. εὐτυχῶς. I give the  
 passage with all, or almost all, faults; but a fresh inspection of the stone is much  
 to be desired). Artemis in Patmos was worshipped as Παρθένος (I. Sakkellion in the  
 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1863 p. 260 f. no. 229, 6 ff. τὸ ψήφισμα | τοῦ ἀναγράφει εἰς στήλην λιθίνην,  
 καὶ | ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Παρθένου· κ.τ.λ.) and as Παμία (I. Sakkellion *loc.*  
*cit.* p. 261 f. no. 230 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 785, *ib.*<sup>2</sup> no. 1152  
 [Ἀ]ρτεμίδι Πατρ[ί]α | [ἀ]νέθηκε Ζω[ῆ]ς | καθ' ἕννο[ν]ς), cp. the month Ἀρτεμισιών  
 (Dittenberger *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> no. 681, 1, *ib.*<sup>2</sup> no. 1068, 1). St Christodoulos (Hagiographi  
 Bollandiani *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* Bruxellis 1895 p. 23 f., U. Chevalier  
*Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Bio-bibliographie Paris 1905 i.  
 916), a native of Nikaia in Bithynia (born 1020 A.D.), is said to have founded the  
 monastery of St John the Evangelist in Patmos (1088 A.D.) on the site of a temple  
 of Artemis, whose statue he demolished (L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen  
 Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1843 ii. 137 n. 12 'Die Legende  
 des h. Christodoulos (in vulgärem Griechisch) sagt hierüber: Πρῶτον ἐσάντροψεν ἑνα  
 εἰδωλον ὅπου εἶχας ἐκεῖ μὲ τέχνην πολλήν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος').

(8) Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale  
 already ancient in 464 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing  
 the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was  
 absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus  
 was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not  
 suffer it; for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom  
 of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis  
 and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island,  
 where Helios wedded Rhodos and begat seven sons, one of whom became the  
 father of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 54 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*).  
 Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from  
 the sea (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13), and C. Torr *Rhodes in  
 Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion: 'Rhodes certainly  
 rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser  
 limestone hills, Akramytis, Elias, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed  
 a group of islands: and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were  
 being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond  
 the Rhodians of the mythopæic age: but the elevated beds of sea shells at the  
 base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend.' Perhaps in the  
 Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea  
 (Appian. *Mithr.* 27), was believed to have raised the island from the watery  
 abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess  
 in an Isiac hymn of s. i B.C. found in Andros (Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* ii  
 no. 1796. 4, 23 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1028, 70 ff. = E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—  
 Pragae 1885 p. 301 h. in *Isim* 158 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 32. 70 ff. =  
*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. νάσας δὲ βαθυνομένας ἀπὸ ῥιζῶν | ἐς φάος ἐκ  
 βυθίας ποτανάγαγον ἰλίος αὐτὰ | ὦρεα καὶ πε[δ]ίω[ν] σπορίμαν βάσιν ὀργάδα τ' ἄκρας |  
 στηρικταῖς ἐξαι[ρον] ὑπερτείνουσα, βοαύλοισ | μαλοκόμοις θ' ἀδει[αν]. A. H. Krappe  
 in *Anglia* Beiblatt 1932 xliii. 256 ff. draws an interesting comparison between  
 Pindar's description of Rhodes and James Thomson's *Rule, Britannia* (1740). In  
 the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter



the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command | Arose from out the azure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.

(9) The Strophades, two islets off the coast of Messene to the south of Zakynthos, were originally called the Plotai (Antimachos *frag.* 13 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 60 Wyss *schol.* Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 ταύτας οὖν φησὶν τὰς νήσους Ἀπολλώνιος Στροφάδας μετὰ ταῦτα κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν ὑποστρέφειν τοὺς Βορεάδας καὶ μηκέτι διώκειν αὐτάς. παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦτο εἰληφεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Λυδῇ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στροφάδας φασὶν αὐτάς κληθῆναι ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ὑποστραφέντες οἱ Βορεῖαι ἠῤῥαντο τῷ Διὶ λαβεῖν αὐτάς. κ.τ.λ. (cp. *supra* ii. 907 n. 2), Ap. Rhod. 2. 285 νήσοισιν ἐπὶ Πλωτῇσι κυχόντες with *schol. ad loc.* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 25 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 f. Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείουσιν ἄνθρωποι | νήσους τοῖς ὃ ἐκτι, πάρος Πλωτὰς καλέοντες, Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 47, 17 ff. quae inhabitant insulas Strophadas in Aegaeo (*sic*) mari, quae Plotae appellatur, Mela 2. 110 olim Plotae nunc Strophades, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 55 ante Zacynthum xxxv in Eurum ventum Strophades duae, ab aliis Plotae dictae). The names are significant. The two Turning Isles or Floating Isles, haunted by the Harpies (Apollod. 1. 9. 21, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 210 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 19, *alib.*: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398, 813 n. 8, 846 n. 5), are in all probability an early variant of the Planktai or Symplegades (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 356 n. 3)—a perilous gateway of the Otherworld.

(10) The same name Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. *per.* 465 f. ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ τὰ γ' εἰσὶν, ἐπὶ ἄνωμοι ἀνδράσι Πλωταί, | οὐνεκα μίσσον ἔχουσι περίπλοον ἀμφιέλικτον with Eustath. and paraphr. *ad loc.*, cp. *schol.* Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 αἱ δὲ Πλωταὶ νῆσοι κεῖνται ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει). Homer had made Aiolos live πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ (*supra* (1)), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hieria or Lipara as νήσοιο πλωτῆς (so *schol.* Flor. on Ap. Rhod. 3. 42 νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς (*supra* (2))).

(11) Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, i.e. Lake Kopais in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Egypt, Thesprotis, etc. (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 10. 2 φύεται δὲ ὁ πλείστος (sc. εἰλαίγνος, 'goat-willow', *salix caprea*) μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων νήσων· εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλοᾶδες, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις λίμναις, 4. 12. 4 τῶν δὲ νήσων τῶν πλοάδων τῶν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τὰ μὲν μεγέθη παντοδαπὰ τυγχάνει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὅσον τριῶν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μεγάλα σφόδρα συνίσταται, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγίεσθαι πολλούς, οὓς καὶ κυνηγετοῦσι διαβαίνοντες, Hesych. Πλοᾶδες τῶν ἐν Ἐρχομενῷ <νήσοι> τινες (so M. Schmidt<sup>2</sup> for πλοᾶδες· τῶν ἐπερχομένων τινές cod.) οὕτω καλοῦνται, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 1 καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰσχυρόν καὶ ποχύν (sc. κάλαμον) χαρακίαν τὸν δ' ἕτερον πλόκιμον· καὶ φύεσθαι τὸν μὲν πλόκιμον ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κώμνσι = Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 168 de Orchomenii lacus harundinetis accuratius dici cogit admiratio antiqua. characian vocabant crassiorē firmiorēque, plocian (K. L. von Ulrichs *cj. plocimon*) vero subtiliorem, hanc in insulis fluvitantiibus natam, illam in ripis expatiantis lacus). O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 2 δι' ἐννεατηρίδος = Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 169 nono...anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes

that the river Melas (*Mauropotamos*), which crosses the site of Lake Kopais, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying 'dass das Land am Mauropotamos schwimme.' He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the *πλοῖδες* of Theophrastus and the *insulae fluitantes* of Pliny. A. Philippson 'Der Kopais-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 120 says: 'The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of *Tzamalí*, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.'

(12) Some five miles to the north of Sardeis lies the Gygaia Limne, later called the Koloë Limne, and now known as *Mermereh-Gheul*, the 'Marble Lake' (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1956, xi. 1107). Its brackish waters are fringed with dense beds of reeds (W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 i. 145), which dry up and mixing with other detritus form floating islands (G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades* (687—546) Paris 1893 p. 13). A. H. Sayce, after a visit to the spot in 1879, writes: 'The foundations of the old temple of Artemis (?) are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causeway thrown out into the lake... The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous' (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1880 i. 87).

It is to this lake that we must attach a whole series of ancient notices about floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish. Attempts to distinguish the floating islands of Koloë from the dancing islands, reeds, etc. of the Nymphs (H. Oehler *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* Tubingae 1913 p. 117 ff., cp. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1532) are in my opinion unsuccessful.

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones (Theophrast. *ap. Sen. nat. quaestl.* 3. 25. 7 sunt enim multi pumicosi et leves, ex quibus quae constant insulae in Lydia, natant. Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calaminae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut... in Lydia quae vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat impulsae, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus). Lake Koloë near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 39 ἡ κατὰ Σάρδεϊς λίμνη καλουμένη δὲ Κολόη πλῆθος μὲν ὕψου πάμπολυ τρέφει· ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὕτη νήσουσιν οἰκουμένης πρὸς ἀπάτην· ἐπινήχονται γάρ· καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνέμων προῇ συμμετοικοῦσι· πτηνῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνύδρων τοσοῦτο τρέφει πλῆθος ὥστε καὶ ταριχεύεσθαι).

Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore (Varr. *ap. Mart. Cap.* 928 in Lydia Nympharum insulas dici, quas etiam recentior asserentium Varro se vidisse testatur, quae in medium stagnum a continenti procedentes cantu tibiarum primo in circulum motae dehinc ad litora revertuntur). He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the



altar, though nobody ventured to catch them (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 17. 4 *loculatas habent piscinas, ubi dispares disclusos habent pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem [græcum] gregatim venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χορευούσας vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet*). Pliny, after his account of the Lydian Calaminae, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeum too are small islands called Saliæ because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with the beating feet (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 *sunt et in Nymphaeo parvæ, Saliæ dictæ, quoniam in symphoniae cantu ad ictus modulantium pedum moventur*). Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias (?), that the fish in the Lake of the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias *frag.* 83 Müller *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 25 *hoc idem et in Lydia in stagno Nympharum tradunt*)—a belief still prevalent with regard to the carp of the Koloë Limne (*supra*).

Strabon mentions the sanctuary of Artemis Κολονηή, on the Gygaia or Koloë Limne, where 'the baskets' are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 *ἐν δὲ σταδίοις τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως (sc. Sardeis) ἐστὶν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένη <λίμνη (ins. A. Koraës)>, Κολή δ' ὕστερον μετονομασθεῖσα, ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κολονηῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, μεγάλην ἀγαστείαν ἔχον. φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάθους* (F. E. Ruhkopf, followed by G. Bernhardt and C. Müller, *cj. καλάμους*. E. Müller *cj. κοβάλους. πιθήκους*, a curious variant in codd. *m, z* and edd. Ald. Cas., was altered by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* Regimontii Prussorum 1829 p. 226 into *πιθάκνας*, but may imply some confusion with *καλλίας*, 'apes,' which A. Westermann would restore to the text) *κατὰ τὰς ἑορτάς, οὐκ οἷδ' ὅπως ποτὶ παραδοξαλογοῦντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες* = Eustath. *in II.* p. 365, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikaia, whose *floruit* probably falls in s. i A.D. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2082, cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* ii. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia there is a lake called Tala (?) sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shore of the lake. Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the king dancing with them comes to the shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season (Isigonos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 436 Müller) *ap.* anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* 43 *ἐν Ἀνδία ἔστι λίμνη Τάλα μὲν* (C. Müller, followed by L. Büchner, *cj. Καλαμίνη*. But cp. *II.* 2. 865 *ὡς Ταλαιμίνιος, τὴν Γυγαίη τέκε λίμνη*, where *Ταλαιμίνης* may be a Greek adaptation of the Lydian name) *καλονμένη, ἱερὰ δὲ οὖσα νυμφῶν, ἣ φέρει καλάμων* (A. Westermann *cj. καλλιῶν* (?)) *πλήθος ἄφθονον καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἓνα, ὃν βασιλέα προσσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἑορτάς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἱνιανσίους ἐξελίσκονται· τοῦτων δὲ ἐπιτελουμένων, ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνης κτύπος συμφωνίας γένηται, πάντες οἱ καλάμοι χορεύουσι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς χορεύων παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊῶνα· οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι ταινίας αὐτὸν καταστέφαντες ἀποπέμπουσιν, εὐχόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εὐετηρίας ὄντι σημείῳ* (F. Sylburg *cj. ὅν τι σημείον*)· *ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰσίγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπίστῳ*).

Isigonos' work was entitled *Ἄπιστα*, but his statements here are by no means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources. Artemis Κολονηή (on whom see Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1108 f.) had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake: its ruins



are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft (?) high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion's head, etc. (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 152, von Olfers 'Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhügel des Alyattes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1858 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 542 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 267 fig. 157). Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as οἱ κάλαθοι, 'the baskets,' took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called βασιλεύς by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-scrapings would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake (see e.g. the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the 'Εφ. 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler *Orpheus—the Fisher* London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 (wrongly described), F. J. Dölger *ΙΧΘΥΣ* Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2), and the facts cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2) and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Strabon is a serious authority.

A point of interest remains. The dance κάλαθος is mentioned elsewhere in the diminutive form καλαθίσκος. Apollonophanes, an early comedian, coupled it with the pirouette (Apollonoph. *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 879 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 467 F (δείνος) ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὕτως: 'δείνον τι δείνος (so J. Schweighäuser for δεινός τι δεινός cod. A. J. G. J. Hermann c. j. δίνος γε δεινός) καὶ καλαθίσκος οὕτως' (K. W. Dindorf would write ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως τι δείνος, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὕτως) 'δείνος καὶ καλαθίσκος,' regarding οὕτως as a repetition of οὕτως, and various later writers mention it in a tragic (satyric?) connexion (Poll. 4. 105 καὶ μὴν τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπρηγῆς, ξύλου παράληψις, διπλῆ, θερμαστρίς, κυβίστησις, παραβῆναι τέτταρα, Athen. 629 F σχήματα δ' ἴσθιν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθισμός (K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 859 D c. j. καλαθίσκος), καλαθίδες, σκόψ, σκόπευμα, 630 A θερμαστρίς, ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεῖρ καταπρηγῆς, χεῖρ σιμὴ, διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος (so codd. A. B. καλαθισμός cod. P. edd. Ald. Casaub.), στροβίλος).

It should be carefully distinguished from the κάλαθος or ritual basket used in the cult of Demeter at Eleusis (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 21. 2 p. 16, 18 ff. Stählin *εἰς* τὸ σύνθημα Ἑλευσινίων μυστηρίων· ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ κάλαθον εἰς κίστην,' on which formula see A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 125 f. and S. Angus *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* London 1925 p. 115). Athens, Alexandria (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 1 ff. τῷ καλᾷθω κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγγασθε, γυναῖκες, | Δάμαρ, μέγα χεῖρε, πολυτρόφε πονυρμέδινε· | τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ θαυσίεσθε, βέβαλοι, | κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* οὐ Φιλάδελφος Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔθη τινὰ ἱδρυσεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλᾷθου πρόδον. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν ὁρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ ὀχήματος φέρεσθαι καλᾷθιον

(κάλαθον cod. E) *eis timēn tēs Dēmētrous*. Variants in the text of Kallimachos are attested by Elias in *Aristotelis categorias* 27 a 24 ff. (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) καὶ τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἐκείνο 'τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ δέρκεσθε, γυναῖκες, | μηδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγεος μηδ' ὑψόθεν αἰγάσασθε (αἰγάσσησθε Kallim.)' and by schol. Plat. *symp.* 218 B (960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) ἐντεῖθεν παρῶνθαι Καλλιμάχος ἐν ὕμνῳ Δήμητρος κάλαθον τὸ 'θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.' *Ib.* 121 ff. ὥς αἱ τὸν κάλαθον λευκότριχες ἱπποὶ ἄγοντι | τέσσαρες, ὡς ἂμιν μεγάλα θεὸς εὐρύ-  
 ἀνασσα | λευκὸν ἔαρ λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χεῖμα φέροισα | ἥξει καὶ φθινόπωρον, ἔτος δ'  
 εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεῖ. Bronze coins of Alexandria show a *kálathos* containing corn-  
 ears and poppy-heads (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30=  
 Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16=my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with  
 a wreath of flowers and flanked by two torches with snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*  
*Coins Alexandria* p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17=my



Fig. 792.



Fig. 793.



Fig. 794.



Fig. 795.



Fig. 796.



Fig. 797.

fig. 793 Livia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 405 no. 21 Livia) or fillets (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 42 no. 345 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 940 pl. 17=my  
 fig. 794 Domitian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 42 no. 346 Domitian,  
 p. 144 no. 1212=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 942 Antoninus Pius) or ties of some  
 sort (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 105 nos. 903, 904, 905 pl. 30=Anson  
*Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 941 pl. 17=my fig. 795 Hadrian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 457  
 nos. 392—394. Fig. 796 Hadrian is from a specimen of mine). Once the *kálathos*  
 is adorned with the rape of Persephone (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria*  
 p. 105 no. 906 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 932 pl. 16=my fig. 797 Hadrian).  
 More often, on large billon pieces, it appears drawn in procession by a *quadriga*  
 of horses (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 552 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.*  
 i. 96 no. 935 pl. 16=my fig. 798 Trajan) or a *biga* of humped oxen (*Brit. Mus.*  
*Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 553=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 934 pl. 16=my  
 fig. 799 Trajan) or of winged snakes wearing the *skhent* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*  
*Alexandria* p. 67 no. 554 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 933 pl. 16=my fig. 800  
 Trajan, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 555 f. Trajan, *Hunter Cat.*  
*Coins* iii. 434 no. 245 Trajan). Exceptionally it rests on the top of a column  
 flanked by two winged snakes, one of which wears the *skhent*, the other a poppy-  
 head as crown (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 557 pl. 30=my fig. 801



Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 456 no. 390 pl. 87, 24=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 937 pl. 16=my fig. 802 Hadrian)), and *Darmara* near Theira in the valley of the Kaystros (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 241 f. and A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 538 f. ΟΙΚΑ—..... | Πό(π)λιον Αἰλιον Μενεκράτην | τῇ ἱερατεῖα τῆς Δήμητρος | ἀνένεγκαντα καὶ καθιερώ[σ]αντα κάλαθον περιάργυρον, | τὸν λείποντα τοῖς τῆς Δήμητρος μυστηρίοις καὶ τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆς κώμης Μηνί σημήαν ('effigy') περιάργυρον τὴν προπομπεύσασαν τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ. διὰ τε τοῦτο καθιέρωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης | εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυσίας τῆς Δήμητρος τὰ πρὸ τῆς [οἰ]κίας ἐργαστήρια εἰς τὸ [κα(τ')] ἐνιαυτὸν | ἑκάστον τῇ



Fig. 798.



Fig. 799.



Fig. 800.



Fig. 801.



Fig. 802.

τοῦ καλάθου | ἀναφορὰ τοῖς κληρωθέντας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἄνδρας | μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προθύοντας εὐχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ | οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ | βίου. | ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας | Α(ουκίου) Βερίου Βάσσου φιλοσεβάστου καὶ | τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ, cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 352 n. 2). K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1627, 49 f. καλάθους, ὁποῖοι καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, οὗς ὀρχεῖσθαι μῦθος ἐν τινι τελετῇ Δημητρεϊακῇ, but fails to perceive that Eustathios is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachos (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1208, 38 f., *in Od.* p. 1488, 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as ὁ καλάθος τῆς Ἀπρίμυδος (H. Usener 'Übersehenes' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 l. 145 f. (= *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 195) quoting *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B—C Kallinikos *vita s. Hypatii* presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17) 70=*de vita s. Hypatii* 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales ποτὶ δὲ γέγονεν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὴν ἔνδον χώραν τῶν Βιθυνῶν



ὅπου καὶ ὁ Ῥήβας ἐστὶ ποταμός. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ κάλαθος τῆς μυσερᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· ὅπερ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ χώρα φυλάττουσα, οὐκ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα. αὐτοῦ δὲ βουλομένου ὁδεύειν ἔλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἐντόπιοι· 'ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ, ἄνθρωπε; ὁ δαίμων σοι ἔχει ἀπαντῆσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. μὴ ὁδεύῃς· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπήρεάσθησαν.' ὁ δὲ Ὑπάτιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἡμεδιάσει λέγων· 'ὑμεῖς ταῦτα φοβεῖσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὸν συνοδεύοντά μοι Χριστόν.' ἐν τῷ οὖν ὁδεύειν αὐτὸν θαρσαλέος (θαρσαλέως codd.) ἦν· δίκαιος γὰρ ὡς λέων πίπειθεν (Prov. 28. 1). ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ μακρία (H. Usener cj. μακραιά? The Bollandists print μακρά) ὡς δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὸ μῆκος. νήθουσά τε περιπάτει καὶ χοίρους ἔβασκεν. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν αὐτήν, εὐθὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐσφράγισεν καὶ ἔστη εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκείνη ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ χοῖροι μεγάλῳ ῥοίῳ ἔφηνγον, καὶ διήλθεν ἀβλαβῆς)—a fact which Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 255 justly connects with another Bithynian festival, the κάλαθος-procession of Kios (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 413 ff. no. 13 on a marble *stèle* near the sea at *Gemlik*, the ancient Kios or Prousiās, in lettering hardly later than 100 A.D. and perhaps as early as *c.* i. B.C. [---i]λασσομέν[αις ἱερεῦς] | δαιτρ(ε)νίτω ἀνὴρ· πᾶσαι ἀνιδίποδες (W. Kroll, followed by A. Körte, cj. ἀνελίποδες 'with no trailing feet, with active feet,' and M. P. Nilsson cj. ἀνιπτόποδες 'with unwashed feet,' cp. *supra* ii. 959 f.; but K. Latte rightly restores ἀνῆλιποδες 'with unshod feet,' cp. Theokr. 4. 56 where all codd. give ἀνῆλιπος or ἀνάλιπος except cod. k νῆλιπος) τε [κα]ι (ε)ῖμασι | φαιδρυνθ(ε)ῖσαι τῷ καλαῖθῳ συνίπασθε, τὰ δὲ | χρύσ(ε)ια θέτ' οἴκοις· δηρ[ό]θι γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐχθραίνει το[ῖ]σιν δὲ προσα[υ]θᾷ ('of old she (?) hates trinkets and welcomes simple garb,' cp. *e.g.* Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 736, 15 f., 22 Andania, no. 999, 2 ff. Lykosoura). The contents of these ritual baskets were almost certainly sexual emblems (*phallós? kteís?*), cp. the Cabiric basket in Phrygia and Etruria (*supra* i. 107 f., ii. 299).

If the Lydian dancers represented the reeds of the Gygaia Limne, they might no doubt sway and curtsy with mimetic motions. A tomb at Beni Hasan shows the dances performed at the funeral feast of the nomarch Chnemhôtep in the twelfth dynasty (J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 ii. 416 no. 291 fig. 1, R. Lepsius *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 iv. 2 pl. 126=my fig. 803, Text herausgegeben von E. Naville—L. Borchardt—K. Sethe Leipzig 1904 ii. 88, P. E. Newberry *Beni Hasan* London 1893 i. 68, 72 pl. 29 (tomb 3, west wall), P. Richer *Le nu dans l'Art Égypte—Chaldée—Assyrie* Paris 1925 p. 240 fig. 405 (after I. Rosellini *I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* Pisa 1834 ii pl. 101, 3)). 'One figure... parodies a royal group, one of the frequent victory reliefs, in which the monarch seizes the kneeling barbarian by the hair, and swings his sickle-shaped sword above his head. This group is called "Under the feet," the superscription over the relief being always, "all nations lie under thy feet." Another group in the same picture is called *the wind*: one woman bends backwards, till her hands rest on the ground, a second performs the same movement above her, a third stretches out her arms over them. Possibly the former represent the reeds and grasses bent by the wind' (A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 248 f., with fig., cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 24 fig. 24 (= my fig. 804), A. Weigall *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art* London 1924 p. 258 fig. from a limestone fragment at Turin referable to the reign of Seti I (1313—1292 B.C.), H. Ranke *The Art of Ancient Egypt* Vienna 1936 fig. 268 assigned to Dynasty XX (*c.* 1180 B.C.), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 507 f. fig. 452 a, b, c ('Female Egyptian Tumblers of Social and Ceremonial Occasions'). A surer method, however, of identifying the dancers

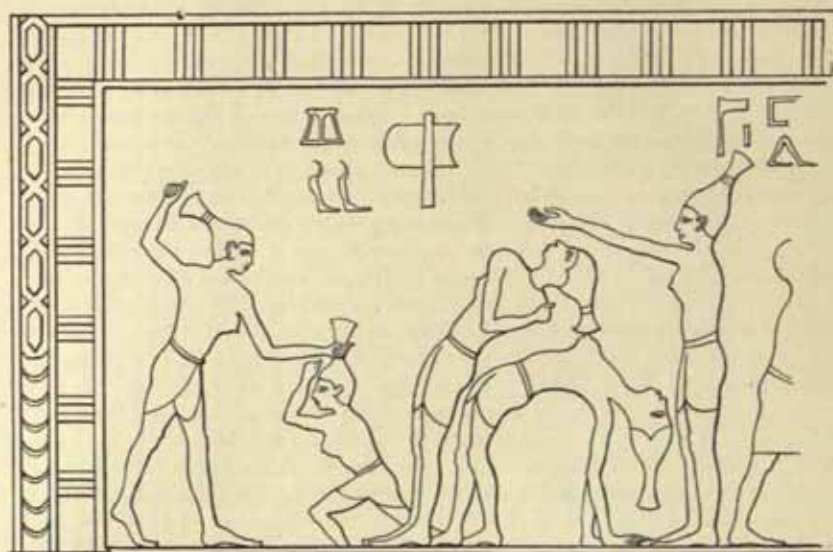


Fig. 803.

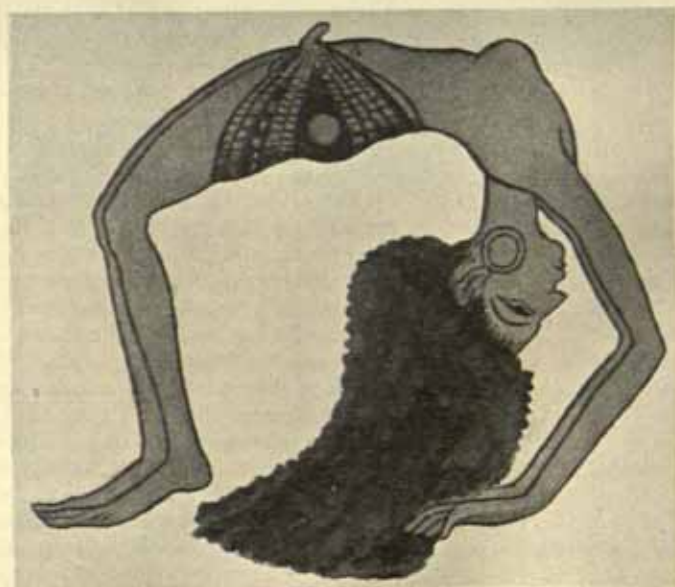


Fig. 804.





Fig. 805.



with the reeds was to give them a head-dress of rushes or basket-work such as Laconian women called *σαλία* and others *θολία* (Hesych. *σαλία*· πλέγμα καλάθου ὁμοιον, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναι. αἱ δὲ θολία). It figures not infrequently on works of art and has been the subject of much speculation (L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 111 ff. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*. vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 471 ff.), *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 27 ff., 57 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 2 and 3, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897 xxi. 605, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv 1037 f. fig. 6063 f., V. K. Müller *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* Berlin 1915 pp. 28, 82 ff., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1549, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 263).

The earliest ceramic example of *kalathiskos*-dancers occurs on a red-figured *hydria* from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 531 ff. no. 3232), which may be dated c. 450—440 B.C. (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 (= my fig. 805)). It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player (ΕΛΓΙΝΙΚΗ), before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (... ΓΟΝΗ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as *σιμὴ χεῖρ* (Poll. 4. 105 τραγικὴ ὀρχήσεις σχήματα σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπρανῆς, κ.τ.λ., Hesych. *σιμὴ χεῖρ*· σχῆμα τραγικόν). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a *kithara*. Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short *chiton* and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-*kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italian style (P. Wullemier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length *ib.* 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4 = my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. lxxi, (1)—(3)), represents the following subjects: A. Dionysos (*nárthex*, *kántharos*) seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad (*thýrsos*) and a flute-girl (long *chiton*) on the left, a female torch-bearer (short *chiton* with sleeves, *nebris*, *endromides*) and a bearded Satyr (*thýrsos*) on the right. B. (1) Perseus dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. (2) A square pillar inscribed ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ (*i.e.* Apollon *Kárneios* in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. *supra* i. 36 ff. pl. iii, ii. 815 fig. 781), to the right of which is a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the *pellke* from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me *supra* i. 128 pl. xii). A second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) = *frag.* 2 *Tresp ap. Athen.* 678 B θυρεατικοί· οὕτω καλοῦνται τινες στέφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ θυσιῶν, ψιλίνους (cp. Hesych. *ψιλόν*, ψιλὸς στέφανος) αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων. φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν

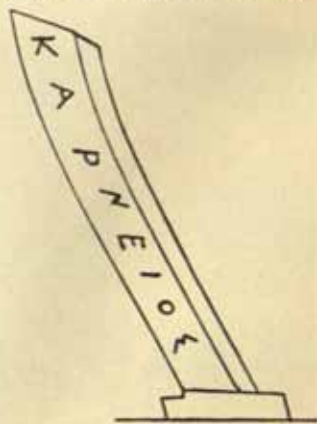
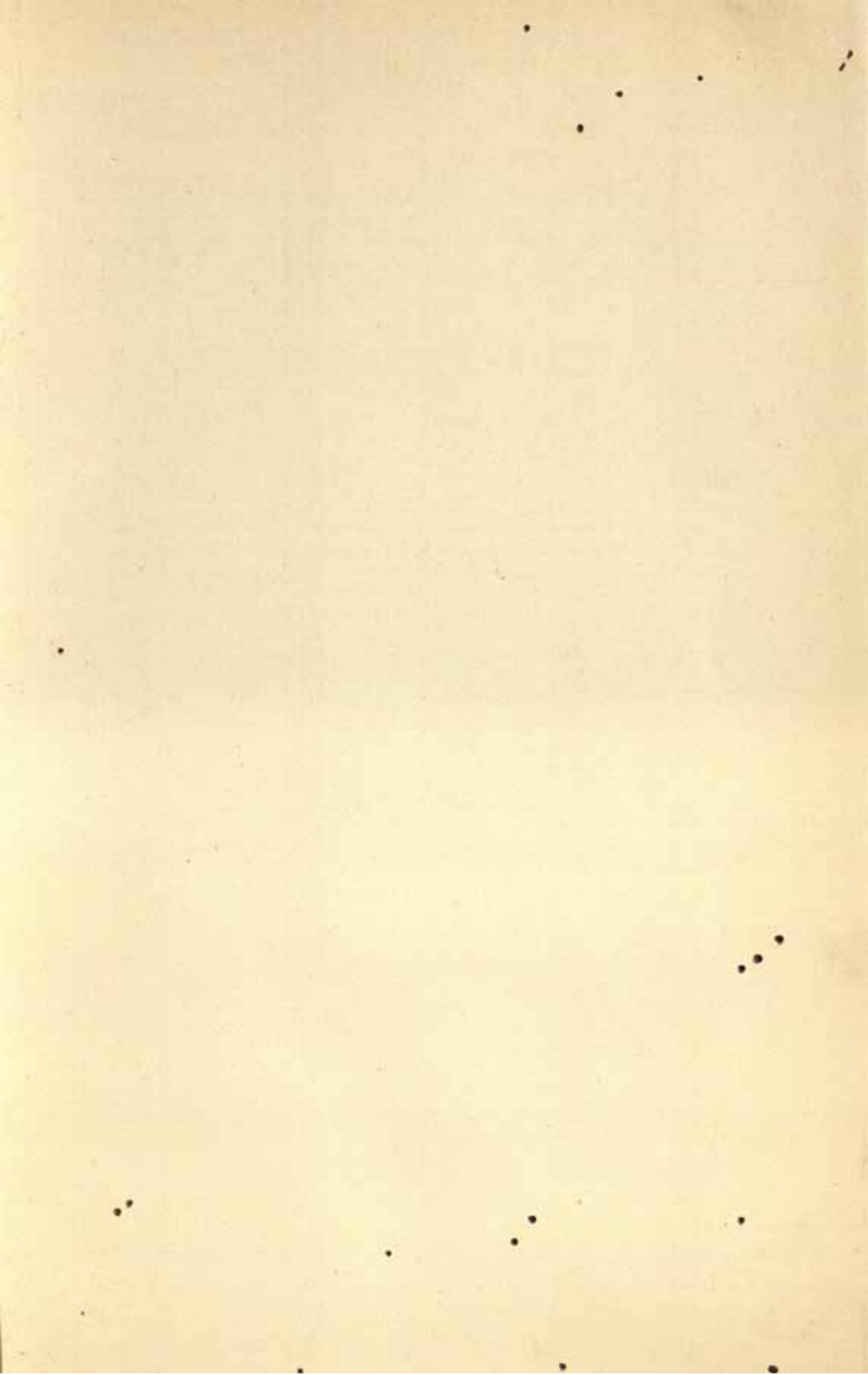


Fig. 806.







1



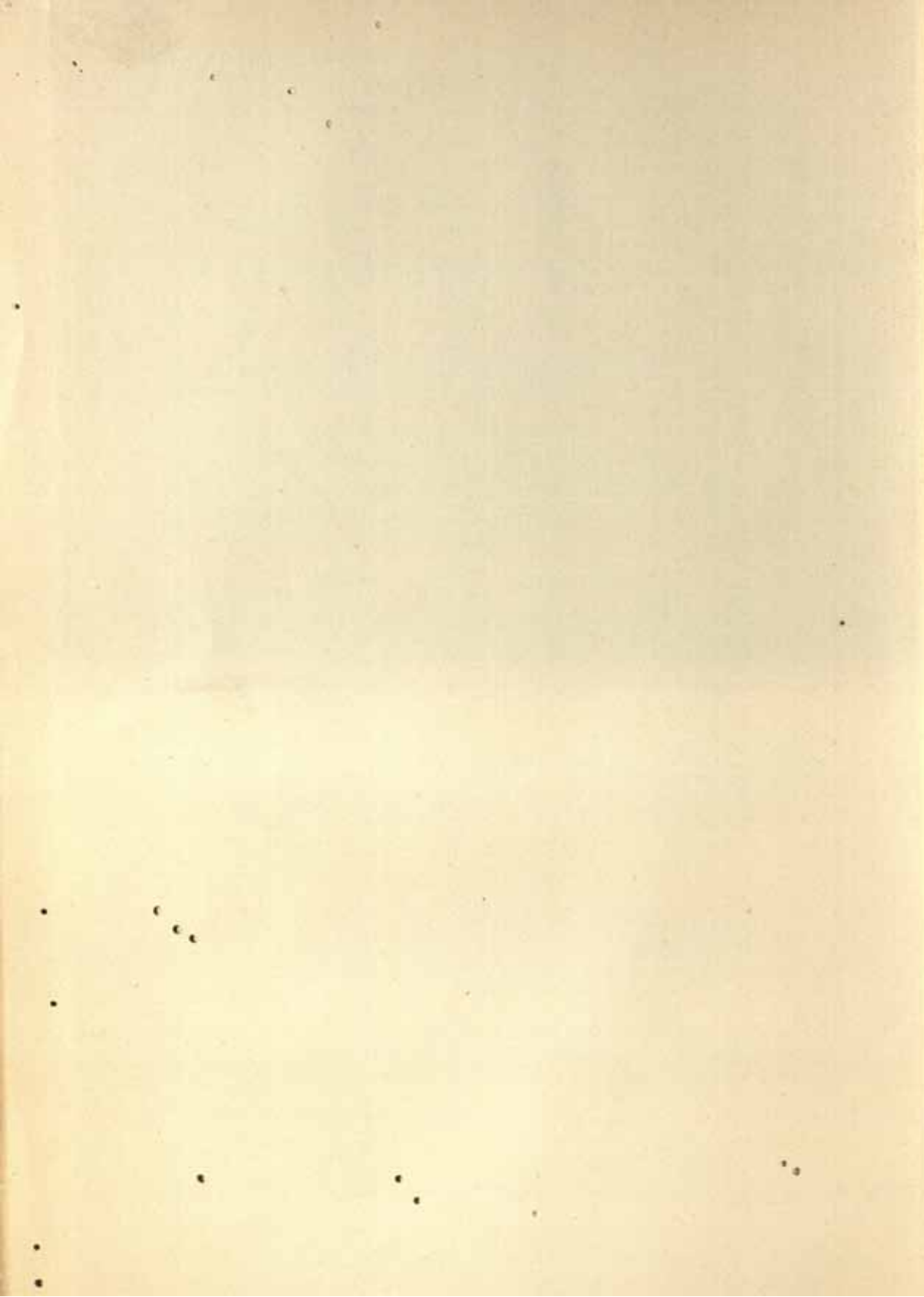
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(1—3) Details of *kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto: a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers.

See page 996 f.







Θυρέα γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. κ.τ.λ.), holds an *aryballos* with straps, as he stands between a basin and a draped flute-player (flutes, *phorbeidai*). A third and fourth are dancing, the former decked with palm-leaf crown, the latter dressed as a girl with basket on head and ballooning *chiton*. A fifth, also wearing the basket, stands engaged in talk with a spectator. Mr Trendall compares an unpublished *kalyx-kratér* from *Scoglitti* near Kamarina, now at Syracuse (no. 14626), which shows: *A*. A woman and a youth with basket



Fig. 807.

head-dress. *B*. Two draped youths. 'The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-krater.' Again, a bell-*kratér* of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28*), has for obverse design a girl in a short *chiton* dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading *kálathoi* formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller *Der Polos*,



*die griechische Götterkrone* Berlin 1915 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia (*Fasano*) formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuova Serie* 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head



Fig. 808.

of dancer only). Another bell-*kratér* of the same style, from Ruvo(?), now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread *kálathoi* of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long *chiton* (Noël Moon in *Papers of the British*

*School at Rome* 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (= my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xlv. 101 with fig. 6). Mrs Oakeshott *loc. cit.* notes another bell-krater by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zürich (*Ruesch Sale Catalogue* 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zürich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott): the man in the centre here pirouettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-krater at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x Arch.



Fig. 809.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (inadequate) describes as being 'in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges' and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 193 n. 84 calls 'attischen,' but C. Watzinger *ib.* iii. 323 takes to be 'wohl eher böotischen als attischen...aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,' a girl wearing a short *chiton* of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric (? Lydian) attire and the reed-crown of a *kalathiskos*-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with *nebris*, *thyrsos*, and large *sympanon* (K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 57, like Furtwängler, thought it a



shield). The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-*kratér* of Paestum style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton* Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male *kalathiskos*-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-*kratér* from Rugge at Berlin (B. Schröder in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.



Fig. 810.

Once more, on a late red-figured bell-*kratér* at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 299 no. 1778, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1869 p. 236 Atlas pl. 6, 4 and 5 (= my fig. 811), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 32, 5 and 7) a girl wearing the short *chiton* and *kalathiskos* places the *pinakiskion* on the *kottabos*-stand for a recumbent feaster (hardly Dionysos, as F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 68 supposed).

Other early examples of the *motif* are to be found among the limestone reliefs of c. 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the *herbion* at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large *kalathos* perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow *krótala* and a white *kalathos* marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of s. iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the *Mon.*

*Ann. e Bull. d. Inst.* 1854 p. 63, F. Weege 'Oskische Grabmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25. A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1556). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have



Fig. 811.

been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeirot (on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 772 f. fig. 918 and R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta.* Roma 1909 xii. 672 ff.), and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjölbaski-Trysa* Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6 = my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1892 viii. 306 ff.



with fig. on p. 295 = *id.* *Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 ii. 299 ff. with fig. 435, *id.* *Rép. Reliefs* i. 444 no. 1, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 204 with fig. 97, H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1907 xxii. 238).

Between c. 425 and c. 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver *statères* of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ΕΠΙ ΜΟΛΠΑΓΟΡΕΩ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*

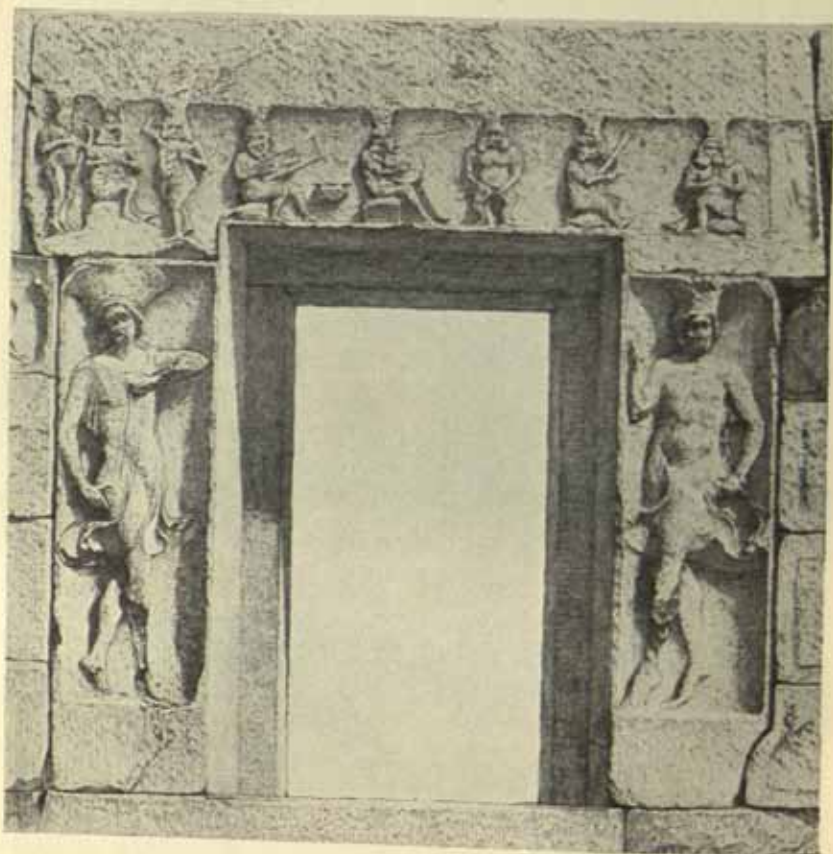


Fig. 812.

The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 70 no. 35 fig., p. 230 no. 35 a (my fig. 813 from a cast), *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 68 pl. 4, 38, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 99 pl. 3, 2, J. N. Svoronos in the *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1889 p. 99 ff. pl. 2, 22, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 21, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 492 pl. 22) or right (J. Millingen *Sylloge of ancient unedited coins of Greek cities and kings, from various collections* London 1837 pp. 30, 33 pl. 2, 13, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 67, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 100 pl. 3, 1 Berlin, J. N. Svoronos in the *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1889 p. 99 ff.

pl. 2, 21 (=my fig. 814) Paris, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909, iii pl. 2, 20 Paris, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 493 pl. 22, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 4. 897 f. pl. 335, 15 Paris, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 144 pl. 28, 13 Berlin).



Fig. 813.



Fig. 814.

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816 are from C. Blümel *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. K 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 45 figs. 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures 0.95<sup>m</sup> high by 0.54<sup>m</sup> broad; the less complete, 0.80<sup>m</sup> high by 0.56<sup>m</sup> broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and abandon that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of 5. v B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt *Griechische Bildwerke* Düsseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' (cp. *id. Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum* München 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (= *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1896 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the *kalathiskos*-dancers of Arretine ware (c. 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. A *skyphos* from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a *thymiatérion* (H. Dragendorff *loc. cit.* figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio *Notizie degli scavi in Napoli* 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to *oucrania* behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege *op. cit.* pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase *Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould





Fig. 815.



Fig. 816.

in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column (G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1898 cii. 114 ff., H. B. Walters *op. cit.* pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* pp. xvii, xx, xxii.

Similarly the upper part of a Roman mural relief in terra cotta, made during the first half of Augustus' reign and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Berlin, figures a facing Palladian flanked by two *kalathiskos*-dancers, whose pink garments contrasted with a blue background (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 248 pl. 18, Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 438 fig. 179, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1332 fig. 8. A fragment in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 412 no. D 646 fig. 76 gives the head and shoulder of the right-hand dancer). More complete but less delicate is the replica in G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 37 f. pl. 4, cp. *Le Musée d'Aix* Paris 1882—1921 p. 477 no. 1588. Another example in the Casino of Pius iv in the Vatican Garden is published by Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 151 pl. 20, 214 a.

Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of s. i B.C. (F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netoliczka *ib.* 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar motifs. A three-sided base of Flavian date (69—96 A.D.) in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two *kalathiskos*-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an over-elaborate and meaningless combination of ram's head, lion's leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a rayed *kalathos*, on which kneels Nike with spread wings (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann *Mitteilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser *Die neo-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2469—2471 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (*Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2472—2474 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the *kalathiskos*-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams' heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 133 pl. 17, 188, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 29. Height 1'011<sup>m</sup>). Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 20 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 146—152 pl. 7, 12, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 19, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of



figures 0'30<sup>m</sup>). A large *kratér* of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling *phidlai* from their raised *oinochōai*, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.



Fig. 817.

Under each handle are two *thyrsoi* laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height 0'80<sup>m</sup>; diameter c. 0'80<sup>m</sup>. The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion). A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of *kalathiskos*-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters (G. Zoega *Le bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach

*Rép. Reliefs* iii. 151 no. 1, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 21, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1867, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the *kalathoi* are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0.85 m.). A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single *kalathiskos*-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in *Ausonia* iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 19 no. 3499<sup>3</sup>). Finally, a marble *puteal* in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of *kalathiskos*-dancers fronting each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikai by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of 5. v B.C.—witness the Naples *hydria*, the door-jambs at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwängler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaising bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the *saltantes Lacaruae* described by Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 92 as 'a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-elaboration' (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural 'Caryatids' in general (P. Wolters in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iii pl. b, ii, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. *supra* ii. 535 n. 2). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta *Σαρδίων ἀπ' Ἀκράων* (Alkm. *frag.* 24. 5 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 2. 5 Edmonds, 13. 5 Diehl *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρσοίχη, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?)), 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), Krates (of Mallos?) *ap.* Soud. s.v. Ἀλκμάν), is known to have composed *partheneia* for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopaïdai songs to be sung by boys and men wearing 'Thyreatic' crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 678 B cited *supra* p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous *kalathiskos*-dance of his own Sardeis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated *stèle* of s. iii B.C., found in the Amyklaion (B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 29, 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promacheia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 470), when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiatai wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller)=*frag.* 1 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 674 A καὶ γὰρ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλὰ μὲν στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχίων ἱορτῇ, ὥς φησι



Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ θυσιῶν γράφων οὕτως: 'ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καλάμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ στλεγγίδι (cp. Plout. *inst. Lac.* 32 στλεγγίσιν οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀλλὰ καλάμιναις ἐχρῶντο), τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παῖδας ἀστεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν'. Another ritual link between Lakonike and Lydia is noted by L. Stephani, who observes in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 31, 58 that the cult of Artemis Ὀρθία at Sparta involved a *Λυδῶν πομπή* (Plout. v. *Aristid.* 17. Cp. the case of Artemis Κορδάκα at Olympia (Paus. 6. 22. 1 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*)).

Three dancing-girls in like attire surmounted the very beautiful acanthus-column of Pentelic (not Parian) marble, which stood on the north side of the Sacred Way at Delphoi, close to the votive offerings of the Syracusan princes. Arranged back to back round a central stem, the girls supported the *lélbes* of the bronze tripod whose legs rested upon the leafy capital. This group of dainty light-footed damsels in some ways anticipates the art of Praxiteles. Indeed, T. Homolle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 31—67 figs. 1—6 was prepared to regard it as a contemporary replica of the Praxitelean 'figures called Thyiades and Karyatides' later to be seen in the gallery of Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23). But C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brunn 1929 p. 48 f. has shown that the Dancers' Column was found in the same deposit as the Charioteer, *i.e.* in the *débris* caused by the earthquake of 373 B.C., and should therefore be accepted as pre-Praxitelean and referred to a date perhaps as early as the late fifth century (S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133). In any case we may admit that the Delphian dancers with their crowns of 'sharp-ribbed rushes' are a composition of infinite grace, which forms a later (*c.* 400 B.C.) variation on the *saltantes Lacaenae* designed by Kallimachos and owes its ultimate inspiration to the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Lydian lake-side. See further the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1 pl. 15 (the column restored by A. Tournaire, with tripod-legs supported by dancers), iv. 2 pls. 60 (the dancers—my fig. 818), 61 (the dancers, another view), 62 (head of one dancer in profile), É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 188—192 fig. 63 f., F. Poulsen *Delphes* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 pp. 246—264 figs. 113—128, and especially H. Pomtow 'Die Tänzerinnen-Säule in Delphi' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv. 113—128 with figs. 1 (=my fig. 819), 2—6, who is followed by A. Rumpf in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv fig. 128.

A gold earring in the F. L. von Gans collection of the Berlin Antiquarium further attests the popularity of the *motif* in the fourth century B.C. It represents a dancing-girl with short *chiton* and high *kálathos*: her left arm is raised, her right is missing (*Antliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen* (Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*) 1913 xxxv. 76 with fig. 37 C).

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short *chiton* and basket-like head-dress (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner *Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes* Paris 1891 pl. 95), as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux *Les Terres cuites Grecques* London 1936 pp. 23, 50 fig. 54, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massoul). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, Mendel *Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople* p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6) are hardly to be classed as *kalathiskos*-dancers.





Fig. 818.

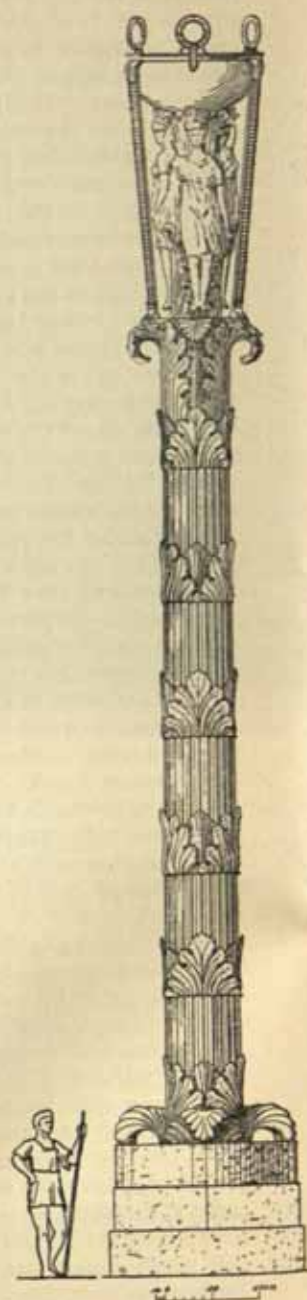


Fig. 819.

Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ ), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a *hydria* containing a palm-branch (*id. ib.* p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.



Fig. 820.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terracotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praesos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short *chiton* and spread *kálathos*, who is dancing in front of 'a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed' (E. S. Forster in



Fig. 821.

the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height  $\cdot 23^m$ ), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5).

In this connexion it may be noted that some would see a phallic significance



in the reed. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhīdānā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1917 p. 33 quotes Dion Cass. 72. 12 ὅτι Ἄστυγοι, ὡς Πᾶς τε καὶ Πάπρος ἡγοῦντο, ἤλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν κ.τ.λ. and explains that Πᾶς and Πάπρος, 'Rush' and 'Raft', imply the phallic god of fertility conceived as a Reed (cp. Finnish *Sämpö*, 'scirpus') and a horizontal Roof-beam. But his etymologies and his symbolism seem equally precarious. He would do better to cite the myth of Pan and Syrinx (H. Ostern in Roscher *Ler. Myth.* iv. 1642 ff.) as illustrated on imperial bronze coins of Thelpousa in Arkadia (K. Wernicke *ib.* iii. 1356, 1467 fig. 25 after *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 204 no. 3 Septimius Severus pl. 37, 23, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 102 Geta, Vienna pl. T, 24, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 456: see further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 134).

With the extension of the *kalathiskos*-type to runners in the Lampadedromia as represented on a series of vases c. 400 B.C. (Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 910 f. figs. 4328—4330) we are not here concerned. One such vase, that signed by the potter Nikias (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 218 f. no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 466 no. 1), is reproduced on the five-drachma postage-stamp designed by J. N. Svoronos for the Greek government and issued at Athens in 1906 to commemorate the 'Olympic Games.'

(13) Floating islands are reported from various districts of Italy. Thus one or more of them existed in *agro Caecubo* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). The allusion is probably to the Lacus Fundanus (*Lago di Fondi*) in the marshy plain between Fundi and the sea (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1244).

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as *Aquae Cutiliae*, between Reate (*Rieti*) and Interocrium (*Antrodoco*), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. *ap. Plin. nat. hist.* 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. *ap. Plin. loc. cit.* and in *de ling. Lat.* 5. 71) covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37). If the Greeks dubbed it Κορύλη (oracle of Zeus at Dodona *ap. Dion. Hal. ant. Rom.* 1. 19, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβορυγίτες (= Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 177), Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44, 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-meant etymology of the *Aquae Cutiliae* (Υδάρα Κωρύλια). Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotylia, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and—so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (*sc. Vacuna*). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions (for *καί ποτε τισι δειρνοῖς* cod. Vat. has *καί ποτε τισὶν ἐτηνοῖς*), when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 721 comments: 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the

waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the *Aquae Albulae* near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [The] *Topography of Rome [and its Vicinity]* London 1834 i. 74, *ib.*<sup>2</sup> London 1846 i. 41.)...The Cutilian Lake still exists under the name of *Pozzo di Ratignano* or *Latignano*, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared.<sup>1</sup>

(15) Two islands in the *Lacus Tarquiniensis* (more often called the *Lacus Volsiniensis*, nowadays the *Lago di Bolsena*, a *quondam* crater near Volsinii) are described as floating groves blown by the winds now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). It is not clear how these two islands (the *Isola Martana* and the *Isola Bisentina* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 52 Vesentini and *Corp. inser. Lat.* xi nos. 2910 Honori Visentium, 2911 Virtuti Visenti = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3796, 3796<sup>a</sup>)) could suggest either a triangle or a circle, let alone a square. G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*<sup>3</sup> London 1883 ii. 29 shakes his head: 'Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of [the lake-side]? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of *Aeolus*.' Possibly Santa Cristina, the virgin-martyr of *Bolsena* (July 24), who was cast into the lake and touched bottom—witness her footprints on the rocks—but, despite the millstone round her neck, would not drown and, after gruesome sufferings, had to be bound to a tree and shot with arrows, should be regarded as the Christian successor of a pagan lake-goddess (*Diana*?). On her see the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiae 1727 Julius v. 495 ff. 'De S. Christina virg. et martyri apud Lacum Vulsinium, ut volunt, in Tuscia' (*Passio* 2. 11 p. 526 f Urbanus...jussit eam ligari ad saxum, & medio mari dare praecepit: cumque hoc fieret, saxum disruptum est, & ipsa ab angelis suscepta est, & ita pedibus super aquas maris ferebatur, 2. 17 p. 528 A Julianus ira commotus jussit mammillas ejus abscindere. Christina dixit: Lapideum cor & abominabile, mammillas meas abscidere jussisti; respice & vide, quia pro sanguine lac in terram defluxit, 2. 18 p. 528 B Tunc iratus Julianus duas sagittas [misit] in eam, unam ad cor ejus, & aliam contra latus ejus, & cum percuteretur, cum gaudio reddidit spiritum), S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 viii. 527—531 (p. 530 'on this day [July 24], as we are solemnly assured, her head is seen to swim about the lake'), M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 26, 143, 193, *alib.*, K. Künstle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 153 f. The tradition that she walked the water and the belief that her head still swims recall the floating islands mentioned by Pliny. Such wonders die hard.

(16) The *Lacus Statoniensis*, identified by P. Cluverius *Italia antiqua* Lugduni Batavorum 1624 p. 517 with the *Lago di Mezzano*, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the *Lago di Bolsena*, had once a floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614), but now has none, 'so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake' (G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*<sup>3</sup> London 1883 i. 494 f.).



(17) The Vatlimonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta (*Orte*) and in modern times variously termed the *Laghetto* or *Lagherello* or even *Lago di Bassano* or *Basanello* from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614) but several (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 38 ἔστι δὲ καὶ λάκκος Οὐαδῖμωνος καλουμένη λίμνη οὐ μεγάλη ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὁμοίως ἔχουσα νησία πλείονα πάσῃ πνοῇ μετακινούμενα). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. *epist.* 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): 'I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem iacentis rotae circumscriptus et undique aequalis); there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A.B.C.]. You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.' 'But,' says G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*<sup>2</sup> London 1883 i. 144, 'he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.'

(18) A floating island *in agro...Mutinensi* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209) is mentioned but once and has not been further identified.

(19) Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus (*Lago di Garda*), the largest of all



the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with trees (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης καλουμένης μὲν Βηνάκου, οὗσης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταδίων φ' (on its real size see E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 389 or C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 268), νῆσός ἐστιν οἰκουμένη κατὰ φύσιν δένδρεσιν ἡμέροις ἐπινηχομένη καὶ μεταβαίνουσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων φορὰς).

(20) Lastly, at (Aquae) Salsulae in Gallia Narbonensis, the modern *Salces* or *Salses* on the western bank of the *Étang de Leucate*, was a whole plain, green with fine slender reeds and afloat on underlying water. The centre of it, detached from its surroundings, formed an island which could be pushed away from you or pulled towards you. Holes made in the surface of this plain showed the sea beneath; whence ignorant or lying authors had stated that fish were here dug out of the ground (Mela 2. 82 f., cp. Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 89, Polyb. 34. 10. 2—4, and perhaps Liv. 42. 2, also Theophr. *frag.* 171. 7, 11 f. Wimmer, Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 176, 178, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 16. 5, 3. 17. 3, Iuv. 13. 65 f.). See further E. Desjardins *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine* Paris 1876 i. 251 f., 256 f. and Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2012.

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 'es sind immer ursprünglich die Wolkeninseln der Sage'). Earthly fact *plus* heavenly fancy will amply suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see e.g. the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhys *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 ii. 591, H. Güntert *Kalypto* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating Island near Lodore which 'appears periodically about the middle of October at intervals of four years' (M. J. B. Baddeley *The English Lake District*<sup>10</sup> London 1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons *The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands* London 1888 pp. 1—64 (Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position of three floating islands on Aug. 27, 1884, p. 19 ff. list of recorded appearances from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ff. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another interesting case is examined by Marietta Pallis 'The Structure and History of Plav: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube' in the Linnean Society's *Journal Botany* 1916 xliii. 233—290 pls. 11—25.

## APPENDIX Q.

## THE PROMPTING EROS.

The evolution of this artistic type deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received. Its successive stages may be exemplified as follows:

(1) A small plaque of reddish gold, found in the third shaft-grave at Mykenai, shows a nude Aphrodite (Astarte?) pressing her breasts, with a dove flying over her head. A second plaque of yellow gold, from the same grave, repeats the motif but adds two other doves flying from her shoulders (H. Schliemann *Mycenae* London 1878 p. 180 f. fig. 267 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 197 f. fig. 180 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 652 fig. 293 f., Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 101 f. fig. 38 f., Stais *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 13 ff. no. 27 fig., Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 223 with fig. 169, H. T. Bossert *Alt-kreta*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1923 pp. 32, 220 fig. 311 e, G. Karo *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* München 1930/33 p. 48 pl. 27, 28 and 27 (=my figs. 822, 823).



Fig. 822.



Fig. 823.

(2) A bronze mirror-stand from Hermione, Greek work of c. 600—550 B.C., now in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, represents a nude Aphrodite with two human-headed birds (Sirens) perched on lotos-flowers to left and right of her shoulders (J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 19 front (=my fig. 824) and back).

(3) Towards the close of s. vi B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic *chiton* and *himation*, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*<sup>2</sup> p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, 1, E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of c. 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic *chiton* and Doric *peplos*, but replaces the soul-



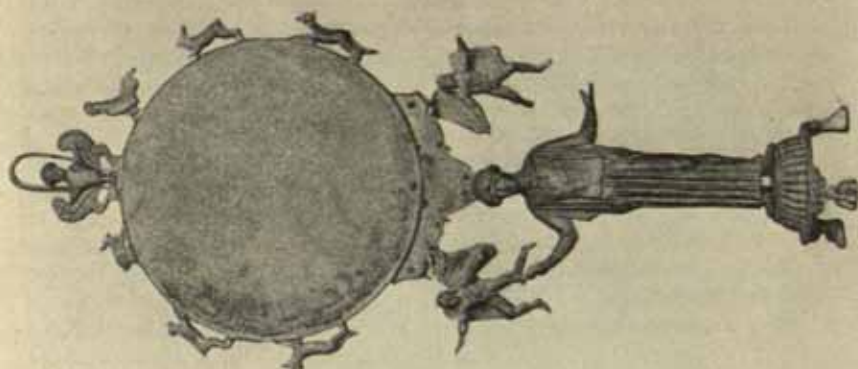


Fig. 836.

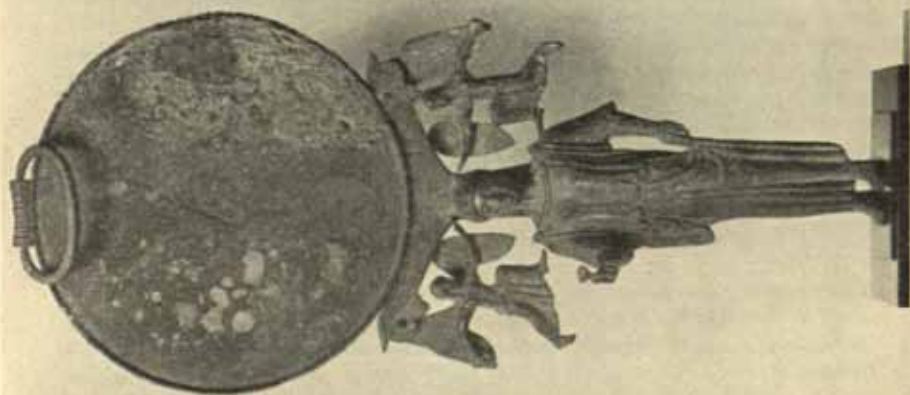


Fig. 835.

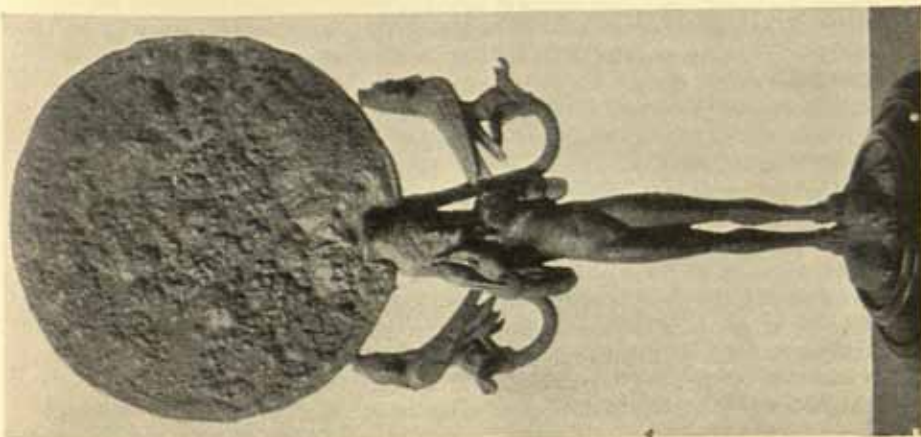


Fig. 834.

birds by two winged female figures (Nikai?), who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object (perfume-vase??) in the other (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, a front, b back (wrongly described as 'two hovering Erotes'), Sir C. H. Smith in *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre* London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 (= my fig. 825: 'two hovering Victories'), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronze-statuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 ('zwei ... Siegesgöttinnen')).

(4) Numerous bronze mirror-stands of s. vi-v (listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *op. cit.* ii. 249—253: see also Mrs A. Strong *loc. cit.* p. 38) figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Erotes hovering above her shoulders (e.g. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 (= my fig. 826) Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, *Stais Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes* p. 335 no. 7576 (6576 is apparently a misprint) with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston).

(5) About the decade 450—440 B.C. Eros was represented on reliefs in terra cotta or marble as standing on the arm or stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite (*supra* ii. 1043 fig. 892, 1044). From this it is not a far cry to—

(6) a *kratér* from Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which dates from the period of the Peloponnesian War and shows Eros whispering in the ear of Hebe (*supra* ii. 737 fig. 668), or again to a *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples, which likewise belongs to the latter part of s. v B.C. and makes the small kindred figure of Himeros, kneeling beside the right shoulder of a goddess (Aphrodite? a Muse??), stretch out his arms to crown a tragic mask held in her left hand (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240 ('Muse'), J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 303 ff. ('Aphrodite'), *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, 1 ('Muse'), B. Arnold in *Baumeister Denkm.* i. 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 120 f. fig. 29, M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 91 ff. fig. 97 pl. 48 ('Muse'), P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 ii. 415 ff. fig. 298).

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of s. iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter (G. Nicole *op. cit.* pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18), e.g. on a *hydria* from Ruvo at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard *Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D, 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 185 f. no. 20, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, *supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi: Aphrodite and Alexandros), on a *hydria* from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* Firenze 1905 i pls. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati



*op. cit.* ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis), on an *aryballos* from Athens in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite), on an *aryballos* from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis *Thamyris und Sappho auf einem Vasenbilde* Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl., D. Comparetti in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta 'La gara di Tamiri con le Muse' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 192 no. 47 bis, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a *hydria* from Nola in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

(8) The same conception persists throughout *s.* iv B.C. on Attic vases of the 'Kertch' variety such as a *hydria* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 383 ff. no. 1924, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 pp. 124—127 Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 2 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 4 and 3, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 102 f. pl. 79, 1: Eros leans on the right shoulder of Paris, a second Eros seated above the right shoulder of Helene looks towards him ἀποροσπένων), a *kratér* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 and 6, L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, *supra* ii. 262 pl. xvii: Eros, standing by Aphrodite's right shoulder, touches her breast), an *aryballos* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 389 f. no. 1929, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 127 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 3 and 4 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 2 and 1: Eros hovers behind the shoulders of Paris, another Eros with torches hovers beside Helene), a *pelike* from Kameiros in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 261 f. no. E 424, A. Salzmänn *Nécropole de Kamiros* Paris 1875 col. pl. 59, A. Conze in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* ii pl. 6, 2, 2<sup>a</sup>, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 427 f. fig. 306: Eros hovers above Peleus as he seizes Thetis), a *hydria* from Kyrenaike in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 179 f. no. E 227, G. Dennis in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* Second Series 1870 ix. 181 f. pls. 3 and 4, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 103 f. no. 2 pl. 79, 2: Eros standing on the right upper arm of Herakles offers him apples from the tree of the Hesperides), and finally a *hydria* from Alexandria at Munich (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 204—208 pl. 40, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 432 f. fig. 310, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 712, iii. 244 fig. 598: Eros, reclining above the head of Paris, leans on the left shoulder of Aphrodite).

(9) B. Schröder in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde* 1925 xxxv. 85 ff. contends that the type of Lysippos' statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Plan.* 103. 1—6 (Geminos), 104. 1—6 (Philippos): see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schröder

further supports a suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pāñcika and child) viz. that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child (for bibliography etc. see K. Künste *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 56—68). It is, however, far from certain that such was the *motif* of Lysippos' bronze; and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemos driven by the infant Eros (*infra* p. 1023).

(10) Eros at-the-shoulder was a *motif* obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Makedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree-trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother's left shoulder (e.g. the bronzes in Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin (A. Fabretti in the *Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino* 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15, 2) and 1295 B Paris = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 46 fig. 3 (= Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* *Terres cuites* pl. 133, 2), 195 fig. 7, 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4) or perched precariously on either shoulder (e.g. the terracottas in Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor (= C. Lecuyer *Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure* Paris 1882 pl. H<sup>2</sup> (modern?)), 101 fig. 1 Rudia, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra (= Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* *Terres cuites* pl. 133, 1), 88 fig. 4 Myrina (?), if not duplicated on both (e.g. a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulins (*Catalogue du Musée de Moulins* 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot *Collection de figurines en argile* Paris 1860 pl. 75 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 376 no. 7), and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1867 p. 47 Atlas pl. 1, 6 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 377 no. 6)), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard 'Aphrodite, Pan et Éros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx. 610—631 pls. 13—16 (of which pl. 14 = my fig. 827) (fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 263 fig. 103).

(11) Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on *denarii* struck by M'. Cordius Rufus (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 no. 1 f. rev. fig. (c. 49 B.C.), M. Bahrdfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 (c. 46 B.C.), *supra* ii. 99 n. 1) and by C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Babelon *op. cit.* i. 473 f. nos. 1 *obv.* fig., 2 *rev.* fig. (c. 69 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 (c. 75 B.C.): see further F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1997 no. (27)), and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 11 f. nos. 11 *obv.* fig., 12 *obv.* fig. (c. 50 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 (c. 45 B.C.)).



The same type recurs on a fine fragment of relief in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 762 no. 1923 f., J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 254 ff. pl. 6 ('Venus genetrix...eine Umkleidung der LIVIA'), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 96 ('Venus Genetrix (or Livia?)'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 128 no. 1, C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 390 ('Vénus genetrix'), on a relief



Fig. 827.

in the Villa Medici at Rome (E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 338—345, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 40, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 29 ff. no. 3511. Mrs A. Strong *op. cit.* p. 143 f. pl. 43, *b*, Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 313 no. 1) which represents the pediment of the temple of Mars *Ullor* (E. Petersen *Ara Pacis Augustae* (*Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* Band ii) Wien 1902 p. 58 ff. pl. 3, vii and figs. 26, 27) in the Forum Augustum

(H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 443 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*<sup>2</sup> München 1901 pp. 110—112, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 pp. 25, 91), on a relief decorating the arm of a marble seat found at Solous in Sicily (Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1842 v. 63 f. pl. 39, A. Conze *Die Familie des Augustus* Halis Saxonum 1867 p. 10, F. Hauser 'Marmorthron aus Solunt' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv, 255—260 with figs.), on another decorating an altar found at Tarentum (L. Viola in the *Not. Scav.* 1881 p. 388 f.), and on yet another decorating an altar formerly at Cività Castellana (A. Reifferscheid in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 367 f.). Cp. a relief found at Carthage (S. Gsell in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 37—43 pl. 2, A. Schulten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. pp. 73—75 fig. 3, E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 184), the 'basis Surrentina' (W. Amelung 'Bemerkungen zur sorrentiner Basis' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 198—210, especially p. 205 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff., 184 f.), and a gem at Petrograd (A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 10).

The contention that the type represented by these coins and reliefs was that of the famous Venus *Genetrix* made by Arkesilaos for her temple in the Forum Iulium (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 156: see further H. Jordan *op. cit.* i. 2. 439 f., O. Richter *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> p. 110, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 35), though put forward by many scholars (e.g. A. Reifferscheid 'De ara Veneris Genetricis' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 361 ff., G. Wissowa *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* Breslau 1882 p. 22 ff. (= *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 p. 25 ff.), L. von Ulrichs *Arkesilaos* Würzburg 1887 p. 10 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 686 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 187 f., C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 308), is beset with uncertainties and far from proven (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1879 iii. 8—24, S. Reinach in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250 ff., *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 329 ff. = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 256 ff., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*<sup>2</sup> München—Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124, Sir C. Walston (Waldstein) *Alcamenes* Cambridge 1926 p. 202 ff.).

(12) Pompeian painters went further afield and exploited to the full the possibilities of the type. We find Eros at the shoulder, not only of Aphrodite (e.g. R. Liberatore in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 6 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 76 no. 276, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 7), but also of a human beauty (R. Liberatore *loc. cit.*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1428, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 8). He occupies the same position in regard to the better-known lovers of mythology (e.g. Paris (W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculaneum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 31, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 123, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 278 no. 1287, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 165 no. 1), Narkissos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 302 no. 1363, *id. XXIII Tafeln zu dem Werke Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* Leipzig 1868 pl. 17, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 4; G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 4 with text pp. 1—5, Helbig *Wandg. Camp.* p. 302 no. 1364, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 451 fig. 2596, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 8), and even Hippolytos (?) (A. Sogliano in the *Not. Scavi* 1897 p. 32 with fig. 4, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1898 xiii. 26 f., E. Petersen 'Artemis und Hippolytos' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 96 with fig. on p. 93, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 55 no. 4). See also the medallions grouped together by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 nos. 10 (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 19—22



pl. 4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1427<sup>b</sup>), 11 and 12 (W. Zahn *op. cit.* ii pl. 43); to which add *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pittura v) 25 f. pl. 5, 1.

More often, however, Eros is promoted from being a mere prompter to playing some subordinate part in the action represented. If Aphrodite arrives from the sea, a tiny but helpful Eros hands her ashore (Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 33 no. 132, P. Gusman *Pompei* Paris 1899 p. 72 col. pl. 1, 1, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 60 no. 3). If Ares makes love to her, a hovering Eros spins the magic *tynx* (H. Hinck in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 82, 93 ff. pl. EF, 2, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 84 no. 325, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 2 Text p. 7, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 3) or removes the god's helmet (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 18 with text pp. 1—3, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 81 f. no. 316, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 2). And, briefly, wherever Aphrodite's power is manifested, Eros at-the-shoulder has his work to do. If Zeus woos Danae, Eros pours the golden rain from *amphora* or *cornu copiae* (?) (*supra* p. 465 f. with figs. 300 and 301. To the references there given add Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 f. pl. 3, 48 f, Welcker *Ant. Denkm.* v. 281, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 349, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 1; H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 47 ('urna'), but cp. Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75 ('corno': the 'urna' of previous publications must be due to the unintelligent repetition of a mere misprint), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 7). If he seeks Ganymedes, Eros leads the divine bird by the neck towards the dreamy youth (C. Bonucci in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 147, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii *Relazione degli scavi di Pompei* p. 5, G. Finati *ib.* 1834 x pl. 56 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 154, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 538 no. 28 Atlas pl. 8, 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 8). If he carries off Europe, Eros flits behind them bearing a thunderbolt (P. Gauckler 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina' in the *Mon. Piot* 1896 iii. 190 f. fig. 2, *id.*—A. Merlin *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Tunisie* Paris 1910—1915 no. 350, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 5) or a *tainia* (J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25=Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céer.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 19 Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184) or an *alabastron* (?) (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 no. 124, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 452 no. 34 Atlas pl. 7, 6, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 3), or before them leading the bull by a flowery chain and waving the bridal torch (in a magnificent mosaic from Aquileia *supra* p. 627 n. o (3) with pl. xlviii: cp. the painting, in Astarte's temple at Sidon, described by Ach. Tat. 1. 1 "Ερως εἶλε τὸν βούν· Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερόν, ἤρτητο <τὴν (ins. R. Hercher)> φαρέτραν, ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ), or beside them driving the bull with reins and a whip (C. Lugebil in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 234, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 f. no. 128, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 32 Atlas pl. 7, 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 4: cp. Eros standing as a diminutive figure on the left shoulder of the love-sick Polyphemos and driving him with reins in pursuit of Galateia (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 N.S. xxii. 47—53 pl. 18 (reduced  $\frac{2}{3}$  in my fig. 828) = *id.* *Mémoires d'archéologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire* Paris 1875 pp. 100—111 pl. 6, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 23, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 172 no. 7, *supra* p. 1020 (9)).

Attendant Erotes multiply apace. We find two (e.g. with Aphrodite and Ares

(*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 29—31 pl. 6, G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 40 with text p. 1 f., Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 328, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 10. Cp. G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1827 iii pl. 36 with text p. 1 f., W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1828

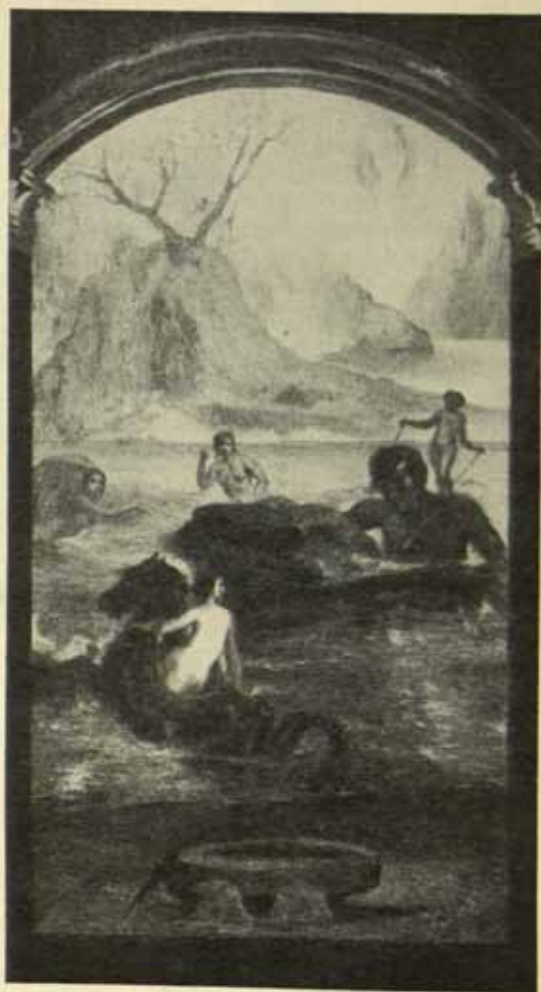


Fig. 828.

i pl. 44, F. G. Welcker in W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* Berlin (1844) 3. Abth. iv. 13 f. pl. 29 (Helene and Achilles), Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 334—337 Atlas pl. 15, 8 (Helene and Achilles), Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 327 (Aphrodite and Ares), J. Six in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 190 f. fig. 5 (Briseis and Achilles), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 4), with Europe and the bull (R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 130—132



pl. 6, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 2 mosaic from Sparta; *supra* i. 506 with fig. 369 vase at Petrograd)) or three (e.g. with Herakles, Omphale, and Priapos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 231 f. no. 1140, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 889 with fig. 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 3, pls. 59, 60 Text pp. 75—77, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 5, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 826 f. iii. 284 col. fig. 664)) or four (e.g. with Aphrodite and Adonis (Sir W. Gell *Pompeiana* London 1832 ii. 66 pl. 12, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii. 89 f. pl. 139, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 no. 339, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 3), with Aphrodite and Ares (A. Sogliano *Monumenta Pompeiana* Naples 1905 ii. pl. 85, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 7)) or six (e.g. with Aphrodite (J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum* Romae 1750 p. 89 f. Appendix pl. 7, O. Benndorf in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 63 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 59 no. 6), with Aphrodite and Adonis (E. G[erhard] in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 88 f. pl. 5, 2, W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1844 ii. pl. 30, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 f. no. 340, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 52 Text pp. 65—67, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 64 no. 2)) or eight (with Omphale and Herakles (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 239 ff. pl. 19, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 230 f. no. 1138, A. Ruesch in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 322 no. 1354, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 6)) or even nine (in Aëtion's picture of Roxane and Alexander the Great as described by Loukian. *Herod. s. Aët.* 4—6=Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 363 no. 1938, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 376 ff. no. 507, cp. W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die kampanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 242, B. Nogara *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* Milano 1907 p. 23, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 771 f., 806). The way is thus prepared for the numerous Erotes of early Christian art, the *putti* of the Renaissance, and the Cupids of modern sentimentalism (O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 515 f., *supra* ii. 1050).

## APPENDIX R.

## THE HIERÒS GÁMOS.

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study<sup>1</sup>.

Zeus, according to Kallimachos<sup>2</sup> and Nonnos<sup>3</sup>, was courting Hera for a period of three hundred years. Homer<sup>4</sup> states that they met 'without the

<sup>1</sup> Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (*supra* p. 744 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Kallim. *aitia* 2 frag. 30 Schneider *ap. schol.* A.D. II. 1. 609 and Tzet. *in eund. loc.* (P. Matrangola *anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 ii. 450, 11 ff.) *ὡς τε Ζεὺς ἐπάριζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖς.*

<sup>3</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff. *ὅτι πολυχρονίῳ πόθῳ δεδονημένον ὁστρῶν* (cp. *supra* p. 941 n. 1) [*Ἡρῆ κέντρον ἔχοντα κασιγνήτων ἱμεναίων | εἰς χρόνον λμείροντα τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτῶν | Ζῆνα γάμοις ἐξευξα.*]

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 14. 295 f. *οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμυσγίσθη φιλότῃ, | εἰς εὐνὴν φατώστε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.*

knowledge of their dear parents'; and later authors<sup>1</sup> lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos<sup>2</sup> and at Sparta<sup>3</sup>, if not elsewhere in the Greek world<sup>4</sup>, the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity<sup>5</sup>, though it is not extinct even in modern Europe<sup>6</sup>.

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the *hierós gamós* or 'sacred marriage', involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Theokr. 15. 64 πάντα γυναῖκες ἱερῶν, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἡγάγεθ' Ἥρην with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Plaut. *trin.* 208 sciunt quod Iuno fabulatast cum Iove.

<sup>2</sup> In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, Eustath. in II. p. 987, 9 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Plaut. v. *Lycurg.* 15, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 37 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 553 c.

<sup>4</sup> The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 1 Ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἑθῶς πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἐταίρειν, ἀπαξ δὲ κατασκευάσας σωφρονεῖν τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσαν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμῃ τυχὼν ἀδόντων ἢ) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a baby boy in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. *aitia* 3. 1. 1 ff. Mair=B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 15 ff. no. 1011 ἥδη καὶ κόρη παρθένος εὐδάσσο | τέθνηκεν ὡς ἐξέλεγε προνύμφιον ἔπνον ἰαῦσαι | ἄρσενι τὴν τάλιν παιδί σὺν ἀμφιθαλέι. | Ἥρην γὰρ κοῖτὴ φασί—), though adduced as a parallel by Kallim. *loc. cit.* and schol. B.L.T.V. II. 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 114 f., D. R. Stuart in *Class. Philol.* 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1915 xxxv. 90—98. Cp. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage* London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.'

<sup>5</sup> P. Wilutzky *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* Breslau 1903 i. 201 argues that monogamy, since it involved the infringement of earlier communal rights, was at first viewed as an offence to society and its practice carefully concealed.

<sup>6</sup> F. G. Welcker in K. Schwenck *Etymologisch-mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 271 cp. 'die Sitte des Kiltgangs, die auch bey den Slawen häufig gefunden werde.' On the *Kiltgang* of the Bernese Oberland see J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 704 s.v. KILT (3) 'schweiz. der nächtliche beuch des burschen bei seinem mädchen, das kiltlen' and in much greater detail F. Staub—L. Tobler—R. Schoch—A. Bachmann—H. Bruppacher in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* Frauenfeld 1895 iii. 242 ff. s.v. Chilt.

<sup>7</sup> For the subject in general see P. H. Larcher 'Mémoire sur la noce sacrée' (read in 1790) in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1808 xlviii. 323 ff., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 1—38, W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 pp. 69—85, *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2098—2103, H. Graillot in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 177—181 ('Hierós Gamós').

The valuable monograph of A. Klinz *ἹΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ* Halis Saxonium 1933 pp. 1—134 is of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravissimas res breviter complectens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Minoiorum vi et notione iuris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia translata esse, antiquissimis quidem religionis Graecae temporibus numina cthonia fertilitatis et inferorum coniugis inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religionis Olympiae Iovem ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matrimonii cum veteribus terrae deabus conecit, auctoritate plurimum posse'), but in pp. 89—111 deals systematically with 'Διὸς γάμος.'



(1) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island<sup>1</sup>, was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus<sup>2</sup>. This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina<sup>3</sup>—was dressed as a bride<sup>4</sup>; and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus<sup>5</sup>. Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

<sup>1</sup> The island was formerly (Strab. 637 *πρὸς τὸν οὐκ οὐρανὸν Καρὸν*) named *Παρθενία* (Aristot. *frag.* 570 Rose<sup>2</sup> *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135, Herakleid. *resp. Sam. frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Müller), Kallim. *h. Del.* 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάμος, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha *frag.* 10 Linnenkugel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. *loc. cit.*), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187). Probably it was believed that Hera renewed her virginity by bathing in the river, just as the Argives declared that she annually became a virgin by washing in the spring Kanathos at Nauplia (*supra* p. 224 n. 3). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 360 detected a trace of this notion in the saying still current at Nauplia, that the women of the place are handsome, while those of Argos are ugly, thanks to the different water of the two towns. Similarly, after her marriage with Zeus Hera was said to have bathed in the spring of the Mesopotamian river Aborras: hence the surrounding air was filled with fragrance, and shoals of tame fish disported themselves in the water (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30). Alleged names of Samos include *Παρθένιος* (Eutekn. *metaphr. in* Nik. *alex.* 148 f.) and even *†Parthenoarrhusa†* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135—a bungled blend of *Παρθενία* and *Δρυοῦσα*, as J. Hardouin saw, cp. Herakleid. *loc. cit.* *ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἡέρας Παρθενία, ὁρεῶν δὲ Δρυοῦσα*). A certain soil found in Samos was known as *παρθενία* (Nik. *alex.* 149 with schol. *ad loc.*). Hera herself was entitled *Παρθενία* both in Samos (Kallim. *ap.* schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187, cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 149) and elsewhere (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1649).

<sup>2</sup> Varr. *frag.* 399 Funaioli *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Iuno adoleverit ibique etiam Iovi nupsarit.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313, 314, iii. 645 n. 0 fig. 446. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 12–16 Münzt. 1. 1–12.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps in the robe called *πάρος* (Kallim. *frag.* 495 Schneider *ap.* Cramer *anecd.* Oxon. iii. 93, 19 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* *πάρος*).

<sup>5</sup> Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 itaque nobilissimum et antiquissimum templum eius est Sami et simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum et sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 7 sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in eius dilecta insula Samo celebrabantur, ubi nuptum data est Iovi.

On the cult of Hera in Samos see now the results of the important excavations (1910–1914 and 1925–1929) described by E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 1–99 and summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 175 f.

Chrysippos *frag.* 1074 von Arnim *ap.* Orig. *c. Cels.* 4. 48 (xi. 1105 C—1108 A Migne) commented at length on a Samian picture *ἐν ᾗ ἀπηντροσεύσα ἡ Ἥρα τὸν Δία ἐγέγραπτο* (cp. *frag.* 1071 von Arnim *ap.* Diog. Laert. 7. 187 f.), and *frag.* 1072 von Arnim *ap.* Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 18 (ii. 188 B Migne) on another of the same sort at Argos *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Διὸς αἰδοῦν φέρων* (Wilamowitz *cj. φέρων*) *τῆς Ἥρας τὸ πρῶτον*. Such works aroused the indignation of Christian (Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 3 and 8) and pagan (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5, 7. 187 f.) alike. But, when it is recollected that Orpheus, possibly in his lines *πρὸς Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας* (*frag.* 220 Abel=*frag.* 115 Kern), ascribed such conduct to the gods (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5), it becomes probable that these pictures were not mere *libidines* but had some religious significance. Cp. *e.g.* the figure of Geb the

seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830)<sup>1</sup>. Both deities wear the bridal veil<sup>2</sup> and thereby justify R. Foerster's<sup>3</sup> identification of the subject as the *hierôs gámos*.

It is highly probable that a Samian festival called the Tonia stood in some relation to this *hierôs gámos*. The facts regarding it are as follows. A certain willow, which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, was said to be the oldest



Fig. 829.



Fig. 830.

Egyptian earth-god on a papyrus in the British Museum (Lanzoni *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 409 f. pl. 159, 6).

<sup>1</sup> (1) From a child's grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* Leipzig 1898 p. 45, *id.* in the *Jahresh. d. vest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii. 210 with fig. 84 (=my fig. 829: scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ )).

(2) and (3) Two similar groups, now at Cassel, said to have come from a single Samian grave. One gives the head of Zeus an opening like a vase-mouth on the top. But both are holed at the bottom (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* pp. 48, 159 pl. 14, 6 and 8).

(4) A similar group, found at Kameiros, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. i. 43 fig. 3=i. 190 fig. 1).

(5) A similar but somewhat more advanced group, formerly in the possession of Sir William Gell (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 1 (=my fig. 830: scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ ), Overbeck *Gr. Kunst-myth.* Zeus pp. 20, 251, 558, *ib.* Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4 a, Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 115 pl. 5, b).

(6) and (7) Winter *loc. cit.* notes two similar but smaller groups, the one from Tanagra (2) in the Louvre (L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 9 pl. 11, 6), the other from Kameiros in the British Museum (uncatalogued?).

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* p. 1033.

<sup>3</sup> R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 24 f., followed e.g. by J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.



of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as *lygos* or *agnos* by the Greeks (the *vitex agnus castus* of Linné), and was still thriving in the time of Pausanias<sup>1</sup>. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus Pius<sup>2</sup>. Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born in their island beside the river Imbrasos and beneath this very willow<sup>3</sup>. According to Menodotos<sup>4</sup>, a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurystheus<sup>5</sup> once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this, bribed Tyrrhenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians might punish Admete. The Tyrrhenians came to the port of Hera, found the temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their ship. But, though they loosed their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest, they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and, after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on the shore. Being but barbarous Carians<sup>6</sup>, they believed that it had run away of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence<sup>7</sup>, drew towards it the longest branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it<sup>8</sup>. The festival in question is named *Tóneus*<sup>9</sup> because the image was so tightly (*syntónōs*) bound by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted Apollon of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him wear a willow wreath<sup>10</sup>. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting, bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess. They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 8. 23. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 645 n. o fig. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. *supra* p. 1027 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the *lygos* towards the south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 51 with fig. 7 and pl. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Menodotos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 103 ff. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 671 E ff.

<sup>5</sup> So Syncell. *chron.* 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) 'Αδμήτα θυγάτηρ Εὐρύσθους ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἐπαύευσεν ἐν τῇ λῇ. αὐτὴ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῇ ἐρωσύνῃ διαδεζόμεναι Φαλίδες ἐκαλοῦντο.

<sup>6</sup> Strab. 637 cited *supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> πρὸς τὴν λῆγον θαυράκιον.

<sup>8</sup> E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 33 would associate these rites with a large quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.

<sup>9</sup> The form *Tóneus* is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 D—E and was accepted by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the *Ποσειδεα* of Mytilene and the *Ποσειδεα* of Megara (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, cj. *Tónεια*, and G. Kaibel, cj. *Tónaia*. The name is connectible with *τείνω* 'stretch,' *τόνος* 'tension, force, vigour,' cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel *λέγος δὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῆς εὐτρονον*.

<sup>10</sup> It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was of *λέγος*: cp. Aisch. *Προμηθεὺς λεόμενος frag.* 202 Nauck<sup>2</sup> and Σφίγγ *frag.* 235 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has *δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλάας*. Prometheus' ring (*supra* i. 329 n. o) may be a later variant of his wreath.

bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. Anakreon<sup>2</sup> says of a young friend from Samos:

Megistes whose heart answers mine  
Ten months ago  
Would wreath him so  
With willow and drink deep the honeyed wine.

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos<sup>3</sup> of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

Ah, Philotheros, fain would I  
Fanned by the western breezes lie  
Feasting with Hera—not in town.  
Enough for me a mere shake-down.  
See, nigh at hand there is a spread  
Of native willow for my bed  
And osiers, the old Carian wear.  
Bring wine, and list the lyre's sweet air,  
That we may drink and praise beside  
Our island-queen, Zeus' glorious bride.

From this it appears that at the feast of Hera the guests not only wreathed their heads with willow, but also reclined upon willow boughs and sang of Hera as the bride of Zeus.

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called *Lygodésma* the 'Willow-bound' as well as *Orthia* the 'Upright' ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright<sup>4</sup>. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, priests in general used to strew willow leaves under their couches<sup>6</sup>, and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Tenaros *ap.* Athen. 672 A states that willow was ἀγποικω...στεφάνωμα. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his ἀγποικω were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos *ap.* Athen. 671 F f. ὅτι καὶ λόγου ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

<sup>2</sup> Anakreon *frag.* 41 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 21 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 671 E f., 673 D, cp. Poll. 6. 107. Hephaestion (the metrician?) published a pamphlet περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι λυγίνου στεφάνου (Athen. 673 E).

<sup>3</sup> Nikainetos *ap.* Athen. 673 E ff.

Both Anakreon and Nikainetos speak of the feasters as drinking wine. E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 187 n. 3 holds that Hesych. 'Ἐλυγίστ' Διόνυσος ἐν Σάμῳ implies the existence of a Dionysos 'in the Willow' (ἐν λόγῳ) at Samos. But the order of the words in Hesychios demands the reading 'Ἐλυγίστ': see M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2367.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 3. 16. 11 (quoted *supra* ii. 421 n. 2). Asklepios at Sparta was called Ἀγρίρας because his wooden image was made of ἄγρος (Paus. 3. 14. 7).

<sup>5</sup> Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 26, Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel, Galen. *de simpl. medicament. temp. ac fac.* 6. 2 (xi. 808 Kuhn), schol. Nik. *ther.* 71, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1639, 2 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 59.

<sup>6</sup> Schol. A II. 11. 105, Eustath. in II. p. 834, 37 ff.

<sup>7</sup> N. Venette *La Génération de l'homme* Londres 1779 i. 231 f. 'quelques moines chrétiens se font aujourd'hui des ceintures avec des branches de cet arbre (*sc. agnus*



The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses antiaphrodisiac qualities<sup>1</sup>. If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her virginity<sup>2</sup>. Artemis *Lygodésma* too was presumably a virgin<sup>3</sup>. And ceremonial purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the Tonia included a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all<sup>4</sup>.

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong aphrodisiac<sup>5</sup>. Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous assumption that the name *ágnos* was derived from *hagnós*, 'pure,' or from *ágonos*, 'unfruitful'. On this showing the ritual above described must have aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess<sup>7</sup>. But in either case it was

*cattus*), qui se plie comme de l'osier, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les désirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.' Etc.—cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 5. See also P. Sébillot *La Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 388.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5 f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 *ágnos* ἡ *λύγος*... καὶ πρὸς ἀγνείας περιεστραταὶ δῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐσθίουμενος καὶ πινόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποστρανήμενος with the note *ad loc.* of F. Adams *Paulus Aegineta* London 1847 iii. 20. Cp. also what is said of the *tréa* or *salix* by All. *de nat. an.* 4. 23, schol. *Od.* 10. 310, Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1667, 20 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Serv. in Verg. *georg.* 2. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 130 n. 2, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1662.

<sup>4</sup> On the purificatory virtue of salt-water see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 889 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 858 n. 3 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and bound with withies of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors (*h. Dion.* 1 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> J. Jonston *Thaumatographia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 191 cites from Scalig. *Exerc.* 175 *sect.* 1 [J. C. Scaliger *Exat. exerc.* Lutetiae 1557 p. 226] the following account: 'Agnacath est arbor pyri facie & magnitudine perpetuo folio viridissima, nitidissimaque superficie. Adeo validos ad coitum efficit, ut miraculo sit omnibus ejus efficacia.' See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* p. 6 f.

Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 60 *urinam cient et menses...lactis ubertatem faciunt*, 62 *volvam etiam suffitu vel adposito purgat*. Cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 129 f. Sprengel.

A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis *Lygodésma* or Orthia was a tree-goddess (*supra* ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of Spartan youths, presumably with rods of *λύγος* (cp. Plout. *symp.* 6. 8. 1 *τίπτορες ἀγνείας πάθους* at the *Βουλίου ἐξέλασις*), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. *Supra* ii. 635 n. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Most of the writers referred to *supra* p. 1030 n. 5 f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect *ágnos* with *ágnos* or *ágonos*—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 121, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 8).

<sup>8</sup> R. Wünsch *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta* Leipzig 1902 drew attention to a Maltese custom recorded by an Arab writer of the sixteenth century. Every year a large golden idol set with precious stones was thrown into a field of bean-flowers by a monk, who told the people that their lord had departed. Hereupon there was mourning and fasting for some three days, till the monk announced that the lord's anger was appeased. The idol was then brought back to the town in procession with great rejoicings. Wünsch holds that the idol represented John the Baptist, who here as elsewhere succeeded to the position of Adonis. His hypothesis has been called in question or controverted by

appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonia sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride'.<sup>1</sup>

### (2) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Knossos.

Another locality in which the *hieròs gámos* was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern *Platyperama*<sup>2</sup>). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites<sup>3</sup>. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow<sup>4</sup>.

### (3) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Ide.

More frequently the *hieròs gámos* is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the *Iliad* that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad<sup>5</sup> expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours<sup>6</sup>; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it<sup>7</sup>—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

W. H. D. Rouse in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 232 f., K. Lübeck *Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta* Fulda 1904 p. 7 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 317 f., A. Mayr *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* München 1909 p. 129. In any case it seems probable that contact with the beans was believed to supply the idol with a fresh stock of virility or power to bless: beans = *testes*.

<sup>1</sup> A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 4 'Dans les noces helléniques, les jeunes mariés portaient des couronnes d'*agnus-castus* employées aussi comme un moyen d'éloigner tout empoisonnement.' I do not know the source of this statement about young married couples, which is copied by R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 208 and reappears in J. Muir *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 103 f. On the plant and its uses see further P. Wagler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 832—834.

<sup>2</sup> R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 2367.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 5. 72 *Μέγιστοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοῖς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων χώρῃ γενέσθαι κατὰ τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν τὸν ἱερὸν ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ θεοὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγιοῦσι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγγυρίων συνετελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν.* *Id.* 5. 80 mentions as his authorities for things Cretan Epimenides, Dosiades, Sosikrates, and Laosthenidas. The river Theren in Crete may have had the same peculiar properties as the spring Kanathos at Nauplia and perhaps the river Parthenios in Samos (*supra* p. 1027 n. 1). It was apparently an arm of the Amnisos (K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 315), at the mouth of which was the cave of Eileithyia (*Od.* 19. 188, cp. Strab. 476), a daughter of Hera born here (Paus. 1. 18. 5): hence Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 115 *Ἀμνισοῖο λειχῶνος... ὄδῳ*. It is noteworthy that Artemis the virgin bathes in the Parthenios (a river of Paphlagonia, according to the schol. *ad loc.*) or in the Amnisos, and is escorted by the nymphs of the latter stream (Ap. Rhod. 3. 875 ff., Kallim. *h. Artem.* 15).

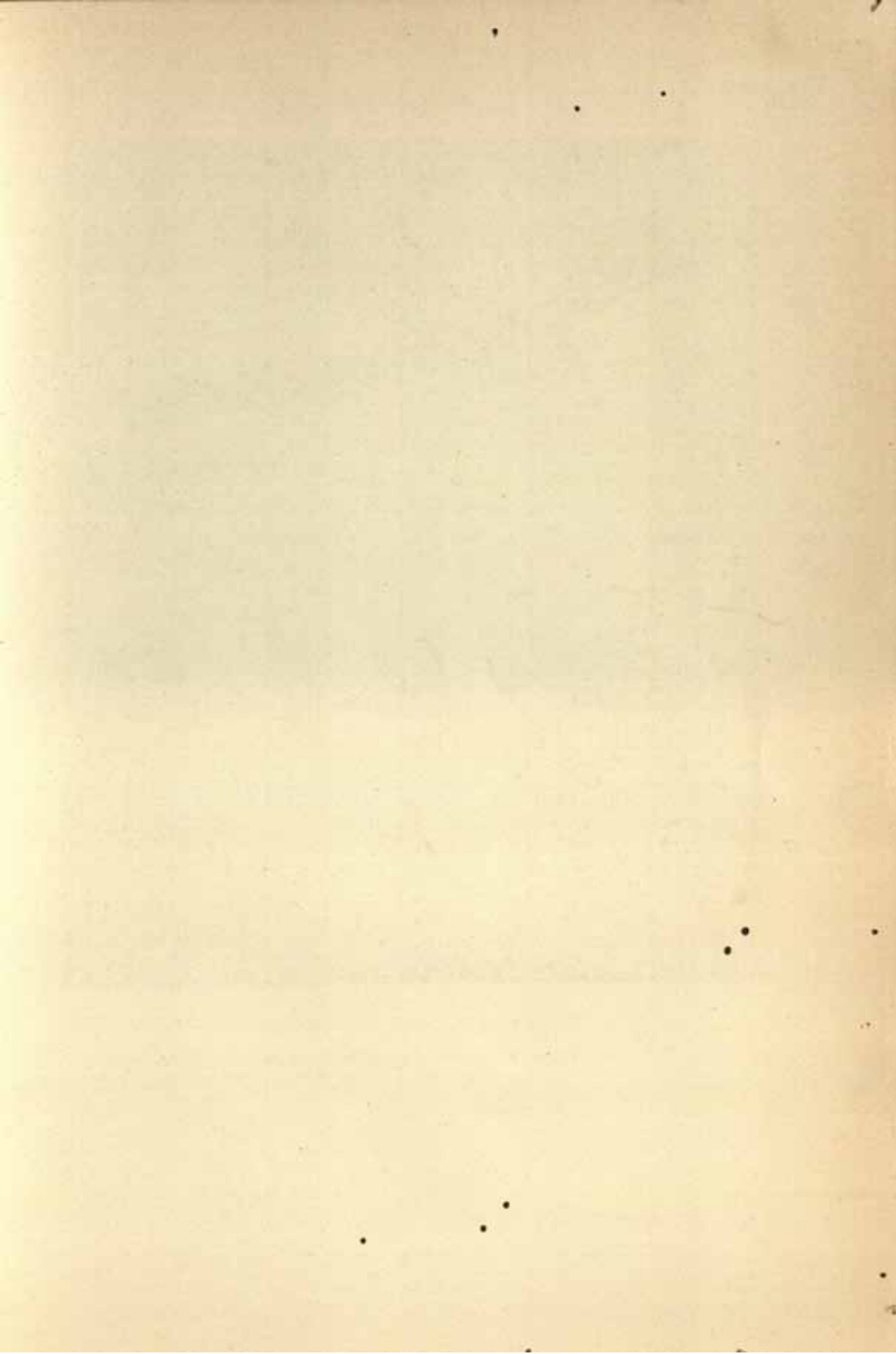
<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 523. The myth of the Cretan bull was attached to the same locality (Paus. 1. 27. 9 *ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι*).

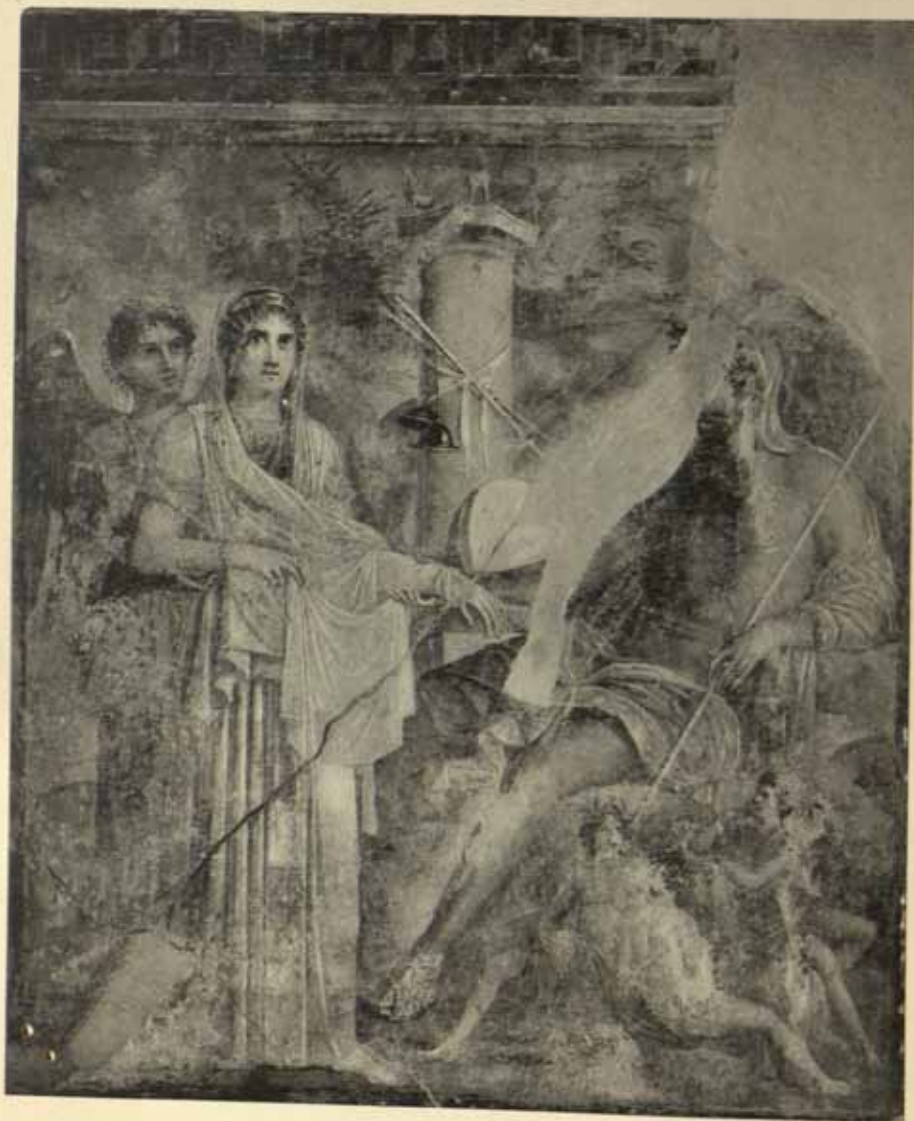
<sup>5</sup> *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35, 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* 14. 295. Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 164.

<sup>7</sup> Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 38 f.







Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples:  
the *Hieros Gamos* of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida in the Troad.

*See page 1032 ff.*



Ide<sup>1</sup>—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the 'House of the Tragic Poet' (pl. lxxii)<sup>2</sup>. Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne<sup>3</sup>. A *himation* wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil<sup>4</sup>, and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly<sup>5</sup>, composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate<sup>6</sup> and at the same time symbolic<sup>7</sup> gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white *peplos* and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated *stephane*; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet *boôpis*<sup>8</sup>, are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress' mood. But the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semi-darkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers<sup>9</sup>: they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean

<sup>1</sup> In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 239—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (*supra* ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (Diod. 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktyloi ([Hes.] *frag.* 14 Flach *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 with schol. *ad loc.*, Diod. 5. 64, Paus. 5. 7. 6 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. v. *Fyth.* 17, Hesych. s.v. Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι, *et. mag.* p. 465, 25 ff., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Ide equally well: here too were woods (*supra* ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (Strab. 469: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktyloi (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 and 1131, Strab. 473, Diod. 5. 64, 17. 7, Plout. *de music.* 5, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. Stählin, Hesych. s.v. Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same atrium depict scenes from Homeric *epos* (Herrmann *Denkm.* d. *Malerei* i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktyloi may be due to a reminiscence of *Il.* 14. 347 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. lxxii is from Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 11, a photographic reproduction which supersedes all previous publications.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* i. 124 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1028.

<sup>5</sup> Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. the Homeric ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρα κ.τ.λ. (*Il.* 24. 671, *Od.* 18. 258, 24. 398).

<sup>7</sup> C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 131 f., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 15 (who cites *inter alia* Eur. *Ion* 891 ff. λευκοὶ δ' ἐμφότες καρποῖς χειρῶν | εἰς ἄντρον κοίτας | κραναῖας, ᾧ μάτερ, μ' ἀδῶσαν | θεὸς ὁμνέερας ἄγει κ.τ.λ.).

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* i. 444. A drawing of Hera's head, almost full-size, is given by A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 649 fig. 719.

<sup>9</sup> Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 3 (cp. *ib.* i. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Helbig *Wandgem.* *Camp.* p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.

Daktyloi<sup>1</sup>, who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother<sup>2</sup>. The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original<sup>3</sup>.

The presence of Iris as bridesmaid recalls the similar, though not identical, scenes portrayed by a couple of the later Greek poets. Theokritos in the Hellenistic age writes:

So came about the wedlock of the gods,  
Whom puissant Rhea bare to rule Olympos.  
One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—  
Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure<sup>4</sup>.

Nonnos in the age of decadence spoils the picture by far-fetched bombast:

He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud  
Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,  
So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,  
Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form  
Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert  
Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,  
What time they lay on the mountain, and withal  
A perfect copy of their destined union<sup>5</sup>.

Iris and the Daktyloi, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831)<sup>6</sup>. It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A. Maiuri well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in

<sup>1</sup> Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 96 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 58 was the first to propound this view. R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 36 n. o suggested that they might be the Σελλοὶ χαμαιαῖοι of Dodona—a suggestion refuted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 241 f. L. Stephani in the *Bulletin histor.-phil. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg* 1855 xii. 301 n. 80 and Helbig *loc. cit.*, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 277 ff., *Rhein. Mus.* 1869 xxiv. 308 ff., *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 117 argued that they are Λειμώνες, personified 'Meadows': cp. Philostr. *imag.* 2. 4. 3 λειμώνες δ' ἐν ᾧ περὶ μνηστήρων, οὗτοι ἀκνέφατοι ὠνόμαζαν, μαρμαίρουσαν ἐπὶ σοὶ (sc. Hippolytos) τὰ ἀνθή and *supra* ii. 164 n. 6 (Leimon). N. Terzaghi in *Atene e Roma* 1902 v. 434 ff. regards them as Κούρητες.

<sup>2</sup> L. v. Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 940 f., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2018 ff. *Supra* p. 922.

<sup>3</sup> Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 15—17, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 pp. 203—206.

<sup>4</sup> Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1826) and A. Ludwig (1911), viz. καὶ θαλάμου ποιητὸς ἔην τόπος, ὃν τότε κύκλω | Ἴριδος αἰθερῆς ἐτερόχροος ἔστεφε μορφὴ κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856) prints the conjectural readings ὃν ποτε for ὃν τότε and ἔστεφε for ἔστεφε.

<sup>6</sup> A. Maiuri in *Clara Rhodes* 1931 ii. 44—46 fig. 22 (=my fig. 831).



Rhodes and now in London (fig. 832)<sup>1</sup>. Zeus sitting on a very similar throne, with a winged and lion-headed Sphinx, leans his right hand on a long sceptre. Before him stands Hera, also holding a long sceptre—for she plays queen to



Fig. 831.

his king. Between them appears a pillar, on which are the feet of a small statue. In front of it is an ox (for sacrifice?). Behind Zeus was a standing figure, on a

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 223 f. no. 2150, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 2. My fig. 832 is from the official photograph.

smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera<sup>1</sup>.

The pillar present in these Graeco-Roman compositions was itself no part of the older Hellenic type—witness a metope from Selinous now at Palermo

<sup>1</sup> This relief has been variously interpreted. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 559 f. pl. 3, 1 thinks that it represents Zeus and Hera, or else Asklepios and Hygieia. W. Amelung in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1901 xvi. 258—263 fig. 1 reverts to an older view that the deities are Sarapis and Isis. Reinach *loc. cit.* is non-committal.



Fig. 832.

A. Maiuri, moved by the new Rhodian discovery, inclines to Zeus and Hera. I agree with him: Sarapis, as Amelung admits, ought to have had a *chiton* and a much more prominent *kilathos*.

For similar thrones see e.g. that of Epiktesis (*supra* i. 536 fig. 407) and that of Dionysos (*supra* i. 710 with pl. xl, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 28, *id. Glyptothek zu München*<sup>2</sup> p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaistic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 185): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inschrift, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.'



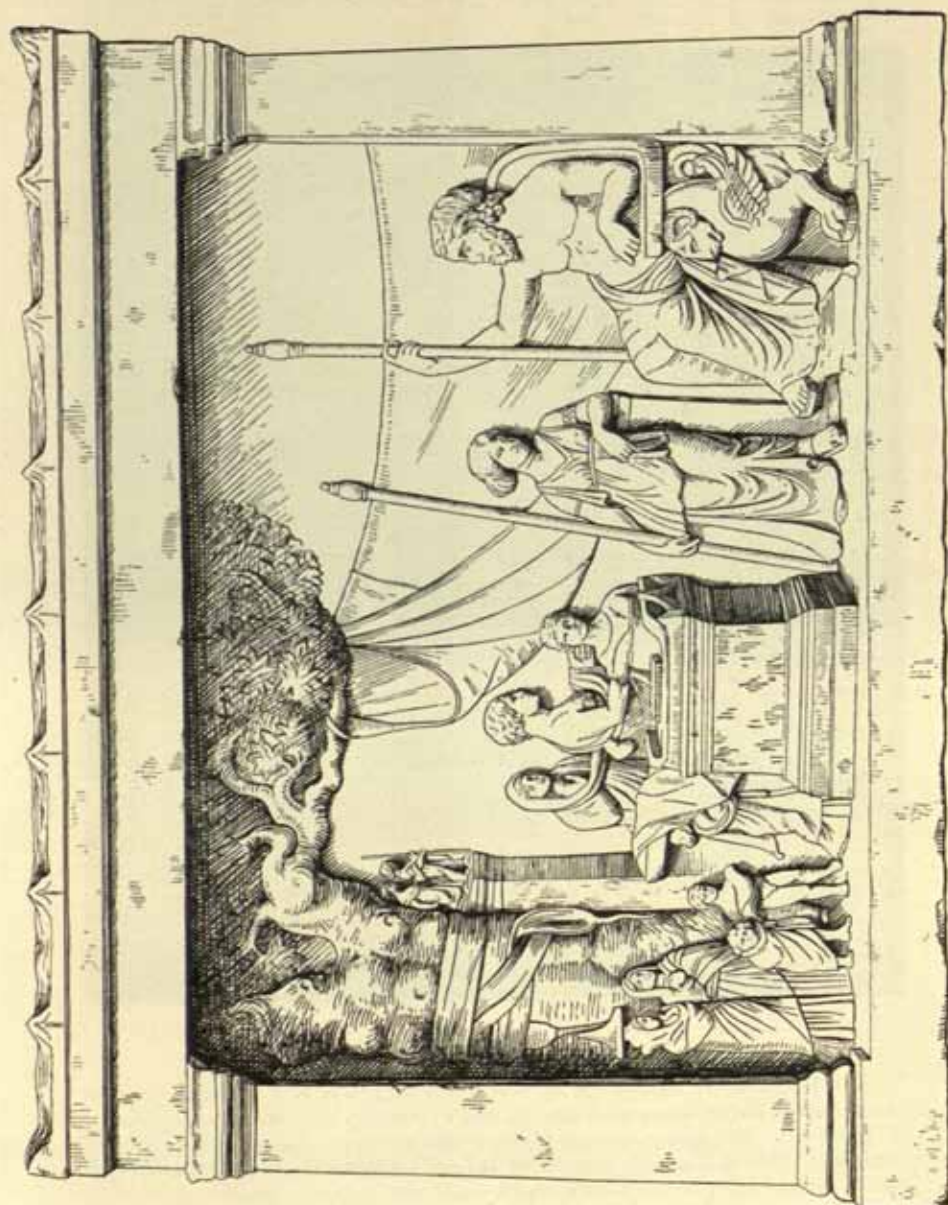


Fig. 833.

(fig. 834)<sup>1</sup>. This metope, which may be referred to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents Zeus seated on a rock<sup>2</sup>. He has a diadem in his hair and sandals on his feet. A *himation*, which has slipped from his left shoulder,

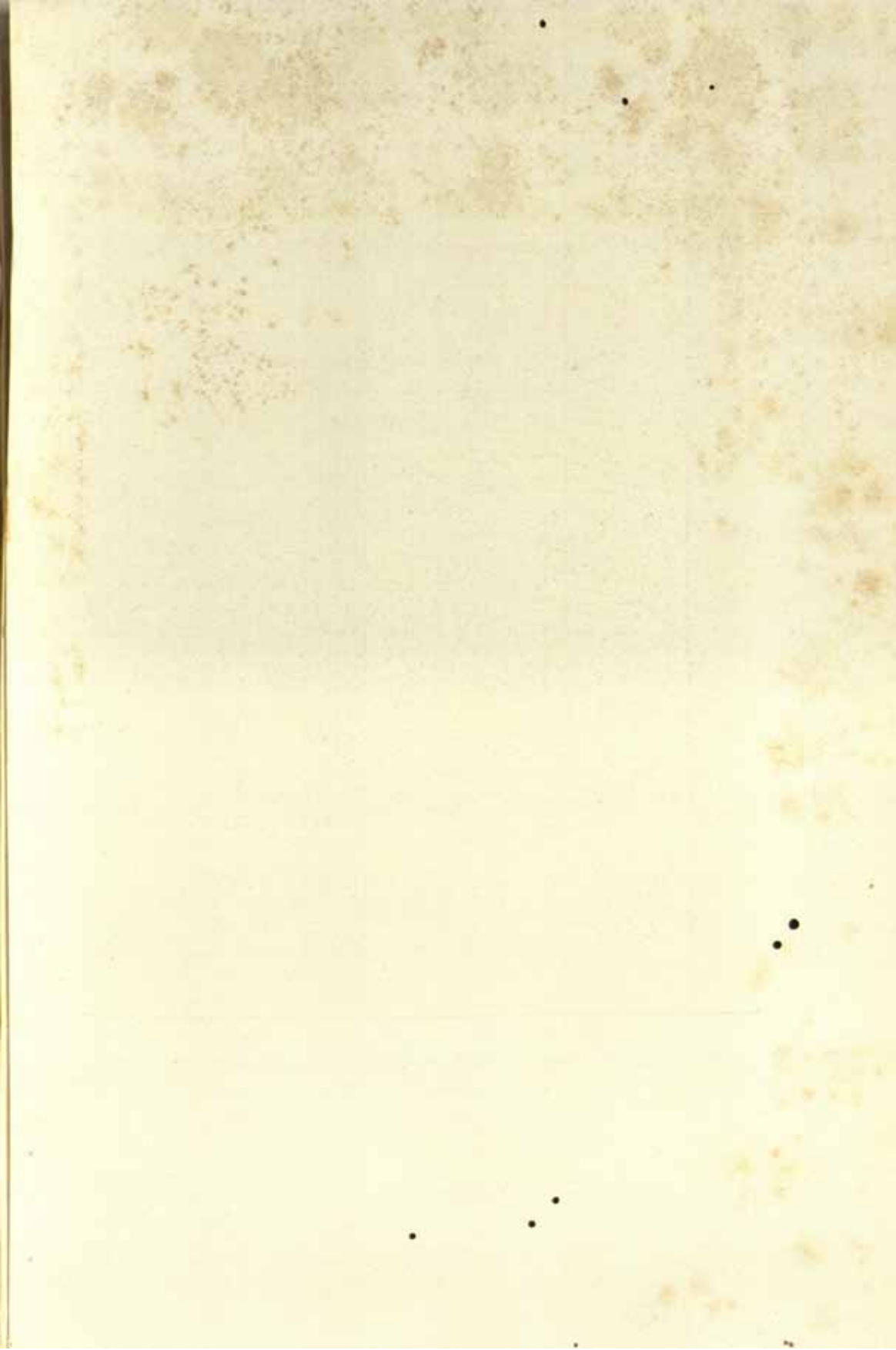


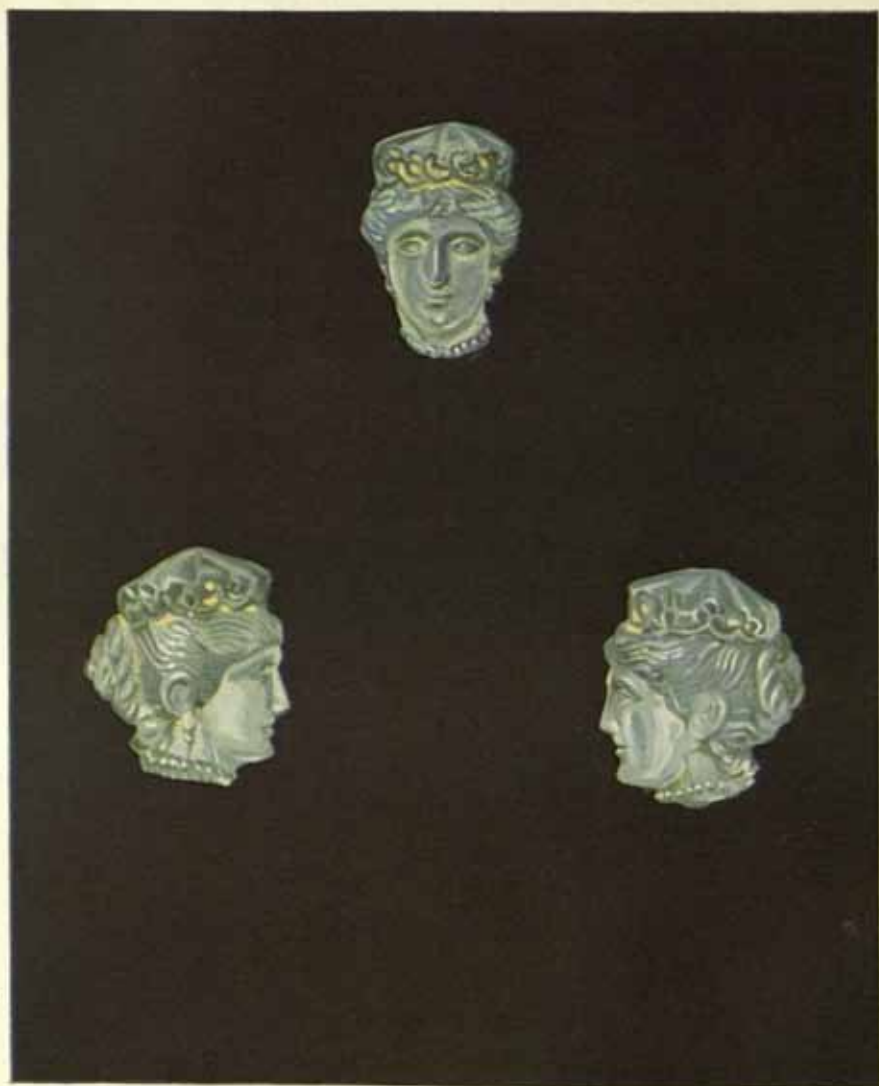
Fig. 834.

<sup>1</sup> O. Benndorf *Die Metopen von Selinunt* Berlin 1873 p. 54 ff. pl. 8, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 290, 1 (= my fig. 834), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 399 no. 1. The metope belongs to the temple commonly known as E or R and regarded as that of Hera (?). It is carved in local limestone, the face, hands, and feet of the goddess being added in white marble—a peculiar technique, which together with other traces of archaism (hair of Zeus, full-front torso, costume of Hera, etc.) points to a date c. 475—460 B.C. (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with fig. 410).

<sup>2</sup> It would be rash to identify this rock with Mt. Ide or any other definite locality.







A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of *c.* 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Hera *Lakinia* (?).



is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved *chiton* with a *himation* slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the *stephane* above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride<sup>1</sup>. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridegroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper



Fig. 835.

register (fig. 835)<sup>2</sup>. Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a *himation* and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre; his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic *chiton*, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome *stephane*.

A large *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples, shows the rape of Persephone,

<sup>1</sup> Other interpretations are considered and dismissed by R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 34 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> W. Tischbein *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases...now in the possession of Sir Wm Hamilton* 1795 ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, F. Köpp in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 125 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 293, 2-3.

again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836)<sup>1</sup>. The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A *himátion* is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric *péplos* with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a *stephane* on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

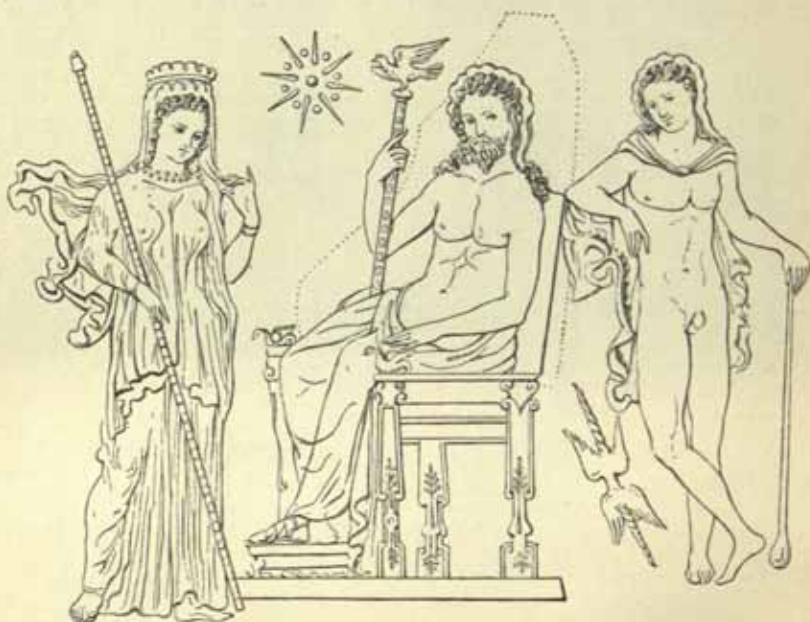


Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped *krater* from Saticula (*Santa Agata dei Goti*), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837)<sup>2</sup>. The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the *hierós gámos*. Zeus is clad in a *himátion* and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric *péplos* and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and

<sup>1</sup> Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, figured in the *Mon. d. Inst.* ii. pl. 31, E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 2, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. no. 2202, C. A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico Napoli* 1829 v. pl. 51 with text pp. 1-7.



on her head a rayed *stephane*. She too faces the central group, but is obviously conceived as the bride of Zeus.

#### (4) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Oche.

Euboia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the *hieròs gámos*. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part<sup>1</sup>. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in s. ii B.C., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus<sup>2</sup>, sometimes a veiled head of Hera<sup>3</sup>—a suggestive choice of deities<sup>4</sup>.

#### (5) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Elymnion.

Elymnion or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Euboia<sup>5</sup>, has been identified with the largest of the Petalian Isles near Karystos<sup>6</sup>, but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos<sup>7</sup>. Sophokles<sup>8</sup> in his *Naúplios* spoke of 'bridal Elymnion,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where



Fig. 837.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* ii. 902 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 103 pl. 19, 4, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 357. Cp. *supra* p. 127 fig. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 104 pl. 19, 5 and 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 332 pl. 203, 23, Head *Hist. num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Ocha' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 11—17 pls. 2 and 3).

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ελύμνιον.

<sup>6</sup> C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 434 n. 1, H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (with a query). Text p. 3 ('very doubtfully').

<sup>7</sup> A. Wilhelm in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1892 xv. 115, A. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468.

<sup>8</sup> Soph. *Naúplios frag.* 404 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 437 Jebb *ap. schol.* Aristoph. *pax* 1126 Καλλι-στρατος φησὶ τόπον Εἰβοίας τὸ 'Ελύμνιον. 'Απολλώνιος δὲ ναὶν (an leg. νῆσον? A.B.C.) φησὶν εἶναι πλησίον Εἰβοίας. νυμφικὸν δὲ τινα αὐτὸ φασίν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ 'Ηρᾷ ἐκεῖ συνε-γένετο. μνηστῆρας καὶ Σοφοκλῆς 'πρὸς πέτραις 'Ελυμνίαις,' καὶ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ 'νυμφικὸν' 'Ελύμνιον.'

Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboeia, like Poseidon in Lesbos<sup>1</sup>, bore the cult-title *Elýmnius* is an unsupported conjecture<sup>2</sup>.

(6) *The Hieròs Gámos on Mount Kithairon.*

Plutarch, who as a native of Chaironeia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account<sup>3</sup>. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboeia, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature's making<sup>4</sup>. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to pry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto *Mychia*, 'of the Nook,' or *Nychia*, 'of the Night,' to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she accompanied there in secret with Zeus, was called *Letò Nychia*, 'the Secret One of the Night'<sup>5</sup>, but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai<sup>6</sup>—came to be known as Hera *Teletia*, 'of the Wedding Rites,' and *Gamélia*, 'the goddess of Marriage'<sup>7</sup>.

Plutarch's narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual<sup>8</sup> notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia*<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. 'Ελύμνιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ νῆσος τῆς Εὐβοίας. But also Hesych. 'Ελύμνιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ.

<sup>2</sup> O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 623.

<sup>3</sup> Plout. *περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαίδαλων* 3 ap. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Plout. *loc. cit.* ἐπισκίον τῶν μυχῶν καὶ θάλαμον αὐτοφύῳ. Cp. *supra* ii. 898 n. 6. Kithairon is described as 'Ερμῆων μυχῶν by Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) ap. (Plout.) *de flux.* 2. 3: see farther K. Diltz in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxi. 93 f. and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 994 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀηρώ from λήθω, λανθάνω, and Νυχία from νύξ, νύχτις. On these derivations see A. Enmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1969 f., to whose references for Ἀηρώ add L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 537, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.* 2 p. 267 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 327 s.v. 'lateo,' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 377 s.v. 'lā- "verborgen, versteckt sein." But F. Wehrli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* Suppl. v. 571 ff. supports the connexion of Ἀηρώ, Λατώ, Letun, Latona with Lycian lada (*supra* ii. 455) and adds: 'Darum hat auch die ursprüngliche Identität von Leto-Lato und Leda [*supra* i. 763 n. 4] einige Wahrscheinlichkeit.'

<sup>6</sup> At Plataiai Hera bore the titles *Teletia* and *Νομφενομένη* (Paus. 9. 2. 7).

<sup>7</sup> For these epithets see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* ii. 898 n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 'Επίθετα Ἦρας... 15 νυχίας with the note: 'νυχίας potius quam νυχίας videtur in *L* existare; nisi potius νυχίας ex νυχίας correctum est.' See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3298.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged (1) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 pp. 122, 135 pl. 4, 40), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΑΕΤΟΜΥΧΙ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7361 d) = Ἀηροῦ (1) Μυχί(2). The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 29). Possibly Leto Φωτίη of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after



Fig. 838.



(7) The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Cave of Achilleus.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilleus. Ptolemaios *Chénnos* ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his *New or Surprising History* told the tale as follows<sup>1</sup>. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilleus the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilleus by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilleus son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilleus; indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilleus was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilleus the earth-born was one with Achilleus the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilleus the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion<sup>2</sup>. The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Argos.(a) *Zeus and Hera at Hermione.*

Another locality specially connected with the *hieròs gámos* is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera *Parthénos*; and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete<sup>3</sup>. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles<sup>4</sup>, in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera<sup>5</sup>. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

(β) *Zeus and Hera at Argos.*

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion<sup>6</sup> had in one hand a pomegranate

Nikandros *ἑρεποποιήματα* book 2)) stood in some relation to Zeus *felχάρος* of Phaistos, whose sacred bird was the cock (*supra* ii. 946 f. n. o figs. 838—841).

<sup>1</sup> Ptol. *nov. hist.* 6 (p. 196, 11 ff. ed. Westermann) = Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 a 29 ff. Bekker. The *bona fides* of Ptolemaios Chénnos, impugned by R. Hercher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1856 i. 269—293, was vainly defended by C. Müller *Geographi Graeci minores* Parisiis 1882 ii p. lvii. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*<sup>6</sup> München 1920 ii. 1. 421 f.

<sup>2</sup> On the cave of Cheiron see *supra* ii. 869 n. 2. Zeus was worshipped on Mt Pelion as *Ἀκραῖος* (*ib.*) and *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* ii. 871 n. 3 (1)).

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἑρμιῶν καὶ Ἑρμιόνη... Ἑρμιῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἀφικόμενον ὁμισθῆναι, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ο εἰ ε, ὅθεν καὶ λεγὸν Ἥρας παρθένου ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ (cp. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 286, 39 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Aristot. *frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller) = Aristokl. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 258 Jacoby) *ap. schol. vet. Theokr.* 15. 64 (Eudok. *viol.* 414<sup>b</sup>) cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2. For attempts to alter Ἀριστοτέλης into Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἀριστέδης, Ἀριστοκλῆς, etc. see C. Müller *ad loc.* The most plausible emendation is Ἀριστοκλῆς, on whom see Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultsch.* p. 126 ff. (*frag.* 1).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 65 from Paus. 2. 36. 2 (cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2).

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 65 f.

(fig. 839)<sup>1</sup> about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-seep which Pausanias<sup>2</sup> explains by the story of Zeus' metamorphosis.

But was the *hierós gámos* at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher<sup>3</sup> has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the *pronaos* or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera's couch<sup>4</sup>. A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives *Lechérna*<sup>5</sup>, a name presumably related to the word *léchos* 'a bed'. In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen<sup>6</sup>—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession<sup>7</sup>.



Fig. 839.



Fig. 840.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 149 nos. 155 and 156 pl. 28, 16 (my fig. 839 is from a cast) Antoninus Pius, p. 150 no. 159 L. Verus, p. 151 no. 164 Septimius Severus, cp. p. 152 no. 172 pl. 28, 24 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 23 Antoninus Pius, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 44 ff. Münztaf. 3, 2 Iulia Domna, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 34 pl. 1, 12 Antoninus Pius, Müller-Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 130 pl. 12, 5 Iulia Domna.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 2. 17. 4 (cited *supra* p. 65 n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 79 f., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2101 f.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 2. 17. 3 *κλίνη τῆς Ἡρας*, cp. Poll. 3. 43 *κλίνη τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς γαμικῆς*.

S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 137—142 developed the curious view that the central figure of the 'Ludovisi Throne' is Hera, who annually recovers her virginity by bathing in the spring Kanathos (Paus. 2. 38. 2: *supra* p. 224 n. 3). She is successively *Τελεία* and *Παρθένος* (cp. Paus. 8. 22. 2). As *Τελεία* she is immersed with breasts covered by a cloth symbolic of matronhood. As *Παρθένος* she emerges with cloth lowered and virginal breasts fully displayed. The figures on the side-arms are typical of *Τελεία* and *Παρθένος*.

J. N. Svoronos 'Le lit de la Héra d'Argos œuvre de Polyclète ou le "trône Ludovisi" avec son "pendant" à Boston' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1920—21 xx. 108—159 pl. 3 f. goes further and fares worse. He contends that the 'Ludovisi Throne' and its Boston pendant were the actual couch of Hera seen by Pausanias in the Heraion, and that every detail of their relief-decoration has reference to the *hierós gámos* of the goddess. He cites as relevant Philarg. *expl. in Verg. ecl.* 4. 63 (H. Hagen *Appendix Serviana* Lipsiae 1902 p. 88, 6 ff.) *pueris nobilibus editis in atrio Iunoni Lucinae lectus ponitur, Herculi mensa, Myth. Vat.* 1. 177 *templum Iunonis fuit, in quo mensam Hercules et Diana lectum habuit; ubi portabantur pueri ut de ipsa mensa ederent et inde acciperent fortitudinem, et in lecto Dianae dormirent ut omnibus amabiles fierent et illorum generatio succresceret*. But Philargyrius is obviously alluding to a Roman custom (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 374), and the Vatican mythographer is copying him with a blunder or two thrown in. Neither writer says a word about the Argive Heraion.

<sup>5</sup> Hesych. *Λεχέρνα*: ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἡ θυσία ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἡρᾷ.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* i. 447 f.

<sup>7</sup> Phot. *lex. v. v.* ζεύγοι ἡμιονικὸν ἢ βοικὸν· ζεύξαντες τὴν λεγομένην κλινίδα, ἣ ἐστὶν ὁμοία διέθηκε, τὴν τῆς νέμφης μέθοδον ποιῶνται· κ. τ. λ. M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1651.



And on billon coins of Alexandria struck by Nero (fig. 840)<sup>1</sup> Hera *Argela* is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson<sup>2</sup>, do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus<sup>3</sup>. But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a *hieròs gámos*, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*<sup>4</sup>.

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: 'O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion<sup>5</sup>, or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods<sup>6</sup>, etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the *Agamemnon* of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,  
Hera the Queen,—  
All we that in Mykenai have our home  
On thee must lean<sup>7</sup>.

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,  
Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,  
To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,  
And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,  
Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you  
With gifts of Araby and suppliant entrails<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 17 nos. 132, 133 pl. 1 (= my fig. 840), 134 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 416 nos. 114 pl. 85, 23, 115 f., J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 8 nos. 266 f., 281—284, 291, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44. He notes, however, that the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, a relief on a silver altar in the Heraion (Paus. 2. 17. 6), was perhaps viewed as a parallel to the marriage of Hera and Zeus. And he accepts as probable the suggestion of W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 33 that the wedding of Demetrios Poliorketes, when *agonothetes* at the Heraia, with Deidameia, daughter of the Molottian king Aiakides and sister of Pyrrhos (Plout. v. *Demetr.* 25), was designed in imitation of the *hieròs gámos*.

<sup>3</sup> I am hinting at Herakles, on whose relations to Hera I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 371 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra* p. 58 ff.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 612 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, H. Frère 'Sur le culte de Caelestis' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 21—35, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig—Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150 ('Virgo Caelestis'). Cp. *supra* ii. 68 n. 2, 869 n. 0, iii. 834.

<sup>6</sup> *Apul. met.* 6. 4 sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

<sup>7</sup> *Sen. Ag.* 348 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Sen. Ag.* 839 ff.

But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the *Thebaid* of Statius<sup>1</sup>. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

The day of prayer was done, but all night long  
They kept their vigil round the altars' flame.  
Ay, and they brought a robe by way of gift,  
Whose wondrous woof no barren hand had woven  
Nor such as lacked a husband—this they brought  
In a basket as a veil acceptable  
To their chaste goddess. Rich the purple shone  
With brodered work and threads of glittering gold—  
On it the bride of the great Thunderer  
Within her bridal bower: nought she knows  
Of wedlock and is fearful to lay by  
Her sisterhood; with down-dropped eye she kisses  
The lips of youthful Zeus, a simple maid  
As yet untroubled by his stolen loves.  
With this same veil the Argolic matrons clothed  
The ivory goddess, and with tears and prayers  
Besought her:—'Look now on the sinful towers  
Of Kadmos' daughter, who seduced thy lord,  
Queen of the starry sky. Oh, bring to nought  
The foemen's rebel hill, and on their Thebes  
Fling—for thou canst—another thunderbolt.'

We are surely justified in maintaining that this veil, woven for Hera by fruitful wives and embroidered to represent her wedlock with Zeus, implies the existence of an actual marriage-rite.

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a late and unexplicated source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, *à propos* of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth<sup>2</sup>, says: 'I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air<sup>3</sup>.' It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller<sup>4</sup> long since conjectured, refers to the old *hierôs gámos* of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and quasi-philosophical significance<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 10. 54 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *supra* i. 110 f., iii. 775.

<sup>3</sup> *Confessio S. Cypriani* (in *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembris vii. 222 ff.) 1 ἦλθον καὶ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, ἐν τῇ τῆς Ἡρας τελετῇ, ἐμνήσθην ἐκεῖ βουλὰς ἐνότητος, ἀέροι πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀέρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ γῆς πρὸς ὕδαρ καὶ ὕδατος πρὸς ἀέρα. Hence Eudok. *de s. Cyprian.* 2. 52 ff. ἐνθεν ἐς ὑπερβόρειον θαλερὸν γενόμεν κατὰ Ἀργεῖ· | ἦν δὲ Τιθωνιάδος ἔροτις λευχείματος Ἡοῦς. | μύσθης δ' αὖ γενόμεν, καὶ αὐτόθι ἦρος ἅμμα (so A. Ludwig for ἀμφω cod. L) | ἥδ' πολυπύχου πάλου καὶ εἶδον ἄμμα, | συγγενεὶν δ' ὕδατων καὶ εὐφρόβοιο ἀρόρης | ἥδ' αὖτις δροσερῶν ναμάτων εἰς Ἡρα διαν.

<sup>4</sup> L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 351. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44 n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> For Zeus as αἰθήρ and Hera as ἀήρ see *supra* i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Heraclitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (*supra* i. 28 ff.).



(9) The *Hieros Gamos* at Athens.

At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the *Hieros Gamos*, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera<sup>1</sup>. A. Mommsen<sup>2</sup> rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end<sup>3</sup> of Gamelion, the month of Hera<sup>4</sup> (our January to February). H. Usener<sup>5</sup> drew attention to a passage of Menandros<sup>6</sup>, which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month<sup>7</sup>. H. von Prott<sup>8</sup> and L. Deubner<sup>9</sup> further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus *Heralos* recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens<sup>10</sup>. The unique epithet by which the husband is named after the wife<sup>11</sup> recalls the fact that at Samos<sup>12</sup> and perhaps elsewhere<sup>13</sup> Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. *ιερός γάμος*: *εορτή Διός και 'Ηρας*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ιερόν γάμον*: 'Αθηναῖοι εορτήν Διός ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ 'Ηρας, *ιερόν γάμον* καλοῦντες, *et. mag.* p. 468, 56 f. *ιερόν γάμον*: 'Αθηναῖοι εορτήν Διός ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ 'Ηρας, οὕτω καλοῦντες (text reconstituted by T. Gaisford).

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 382 f. But his subsequent contention that Hephaistos and Athena, conceived at the Theogamia, were born nine months later at the Chalkaia and Athenaia respectively is neither proved nor probable.

<sup>3</sup> Prokl. in Hes. *o.d.* 780 διὸ καὶ 'Αθηναῖοι τὰς πρὸς σίνοδον ἡμέρας ἐξελέγοντο πρὸς γάμοις καὶ τὰ Θεογάμια ἐτέλουν, τότε φυσικῶς εἶναι πρῶτον οὐρόμηνος γάμον, τῆς σελήνης οὐρα (H. Usener *cj.* *λόσις*) πρὸς ἥλιον σίνοδον. T. Bergk *Beiträge zur griechischen Monatskunde* Giessen 1845 p. 36 f. and W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100 held that Proklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 524 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

<sup>4</sup> Hesych. *Γαμηλιών*: ὁ (ς) τῶν μηνῶν, τῆς 'Ηρας *ιερός*.

<sup>5</sup> H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 428.

<sup>6</sup> Menand. *Méte frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 162 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 243 A—B ἐμὲ γὰρ διέτρυψεν ὁ | κομψότατος ἀνδρῶν Χαιρέφωρ *ιερόν γάμον* | φάσκων ποῆσεν δευτέρα μετ' εἰκάδα (so Usener for *δευτέρα μετ' εἰκάδα*) | καὶ αὐτὸν, ἵνα τῇ τετράδι *δειπνῇ παρ' ἐτέρου* | τὸ τῆς θεοῦ γὰρ πανταχῶς *ἔχειν καλῶς*. J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacras* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 4 expounds: 'gloriatur Chaerepho calliditate sua dicens matrimonium Iovis ac Iunonis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo adtribuisset usum sacrum sumendum est, domi sese die nefasto [*cp. et. mag.* p. 131, 13 ff.] antecedente celebraturum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Anthesterionis sollempni Veneris apud alios esse cenaturum.'

<sup>7</sup> F. G. Allinson *ad loc.*: 'here the "Fourth" may mean the 24th, *i.e.* the fourth day after the twentieth, or, more probably, the 27th, *i.e.* the fourth (the third) day before the "New and the Old."'

<sup>8</sup> J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 177 f.

<sup>10</sup> J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 1 ff. no. 1, 20 f., *Inter. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 840, A 20 f. [— — Δ] *ἡεραίοι*: *χοῖρος* — —]. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 n. 6.

<sup>11</sup> J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4 'Plane singularem esse *Δία 'Ηραιόν* ipse fateor. Non est quod miremur 'Αθηναῖν 'Ηφαιστίαν [*supra* p. 216 n. 2], 'Αμφιπρίτην *Προειδυίαν* (schol. Hom. γ 91) aut 'Απὸλλωνα *Λατφον*, *Διόνυσον* *Θουρέα*. At deum ab uxore denominari aliud est.' He adds *ib.* n. 4 'Non habeo exemplum simile nisi Hesychii glossam 'Ηραιον' 'Ηρακλέα [*supra* p. 216 n. 1].'

<sup>12</sup> *Supra* p. 1028 figs. 829 and 830.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra* p. 1033 pl. lxxii.

<sup>14</sup> *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin<sup>1</sup>.

(a) *Zeus with Hera behind him.*

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic<sup>2</sup> or otherwise<sup>3</sup>, represent Olympus by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.



Fig. 841.

(B) *Zeus with Hera beside him.*

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympus by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side<sup>4</sup>. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *supra* pp. 668, 669 f., 688.

<sup>2</sup> So on the *krater* of Klitias and Ergotimos (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasen-malerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 255 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> So on a 'Chalcidian' *kylix* in the British Museum (*supra* ii. 771 n. 1 with fig. 734).

<sup>4</sup> The red-figured *kylix* by the potter Sosias, at Berlin (*supra* ii. 1167 n. 6, iii. 818 n. o), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in *chiton* and *himetion* was holding out a *phidole*, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leant against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and *phidole*. Before her stands Hebe ( $\text{H}\epsilon\beta\eta$ ), not  $\text{N}\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ , nor  $\text{H}\rho\alpha$ , with spread wings, filling Hera's *phidole* from an *oinochoe*.

A red-figured *amphora* at Munich, attributed to 'the Nikoxenos painter' (Gethard



of the spectator<sup>1</sup> (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) Zeus with Hera facing him.

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympos as an assemblage of deities seated *vis-à-vis*<sup>2</sup>. The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once



Fig. 842.

*Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 31 ff. pl. 7, Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 137 f. no. 405, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 31 (i), 32 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 233 no. 6, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 91 no. 1, E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 250 f. pl. 158 (=my fig. 841)), again has Zeus and Hera seated side by side and served by a winged attendant—Hebe (Gerhard, Jahn, Hoppin) or Iris (Beazley) or possibly Nike (Buschor). Buschor notes that the throne of Zeus is shown as if seen from the front, the two Sphinxes being arm-rests and the two wrestlers decorative supports for the seat (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492 and 493). He draws up a list of such thrones, which he regards as characteristic of Zeus.

<sup>1</sup> A black-figured *hydria* from Vulci, at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 387 f. no. 1899, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. chr.* i. 39 ff. pl. 22 (=my fig. 842)), promotes Athena to the place of honour—a novelty pardonable on the part of an Athenian painter. With a spear that length she can hardly be Hera, *pace* R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 31 f.

<sup>2</sup> (1) A black-figured *kýlix* at Berlin (*supra* ii. 776 n. 3 with fig. 740).

(2) A red-figured *kýlix* at Corneto, by the potter Euxitheos and the painter Olto (H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvii. 254—267, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 23—24 (=my fig. 843), *Wien. Vorlegbl.* D pl. 1—2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 pl. 93, P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterwerke der Blüthezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 71 ff., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 203, 4—8, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 250 f. no. 2 fig., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 431 f., iii. 103 figs. 359 f.,

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 15 no. 49), has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are A: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet), Zeus (*phidle*, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (*oinochos*), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), Ares (spear, helmet), and B: Thero (*thýrsos*, doe, snake), Terpes



Fig. 843.



Fig. 844.

(*pléktron*, *phorminx*), Dionysos (vine, *kántharos*), Kalis (lion, *thýrsos*), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan graffito: *Itun Turunc Venela Tinai Clinitaras*.

(3) A red-figured *stamnos* in the Louvre, by the 'Providence painter' (*supra* ii. 735 n. 4, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3<sup>me</sup> Série Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. G 370 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollon, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured *kylix* in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 90 f. no. x 67, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 25 f. pl. D



(= my fig. 845), P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 361 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 184 no. 1), shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(5) A red-figured *hybris* at Leyden, by the 'Oinante painter' (Roulez *Vases de Leyde*



Fig. 845.



Fig. 846.

p. 1 ff. pl. 1 (= my fig. 846), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 16 f. pl. 1, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 251 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to

by way of exception, Hestia takes her place<sup>1</sup>. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there, and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace.

Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so



Fig. 847.

represent the *hierôs gámos*. But K. Wernicke concludes: 'Einen tiefen Sinn in dem Bilde zu suchen wäre verfehlt; es ist gewissermassen eine Genrescene im Olymp.'

(6) The fragment of a red-figured *skyphos* from Tarentum, now at New York (G. M. A. Richter) in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1912 vi. 97 fig. 5 (=my fig. 847), K. Schefold in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 60 with



Fig. 848.

fig. 19). Zeus seated on an elaborate throne (arm-rest, supported on a lion, ends in a Gorgon-head) has his *himetion* drawn up like a veil over the back of his head and holds a sceptre tipped with a dove (Richter) or, more probably, a small eagle (Schefold). Opposite to him is a seated goddess, presumably Hera. And Eros, flying from her to him, presents him with a wreath. Again the scene is suggestive of the *hierôs gámos*.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1050 n. 0 (3) fig. On the association of Zeus with Hestia see *supra* i. 17 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 330 n. 4, ii. 259 n. 0, 317 n. 2, 960 n. 0, 1218 f. More in Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1405 n. 2 and Süss in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1300 f.



that he looks to the left and she to the right<sup>1</sup>. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety<sup>2</sup>.

(8) *Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon.*

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley<sup>3</sup> put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze<sup>4</sup> combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen *en échelon*. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride<sup>5</sup> she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease<sup>6</sup>. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a *himation* about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric *péplos*, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow<sup>7</sup>. At her side in a Doric *péplos* stands Iris<sup>8</sup>, who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the group of Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.

<sup>1</sup> (1) A red-figured *stamnos*, formerly with Depoletti at Rome, latterly with Kaleb-djian in Paris, and now attributed to the painter Hermonax (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 1 (=my fig. 848), *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 360, 362 ff. pl. 24 b, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 157, 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasen-maler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 476 no. 12 bis) arranges from left to right: a goddess (*quis?*), Dionysos (*kántharos*, vine-staff), Aphrodite (swan, apple), Poseidon? (restored as Dionysos), Plouton (*cornu copiae*), Hera (sceptre), Iris rather than Nike (*oinochôe*, *caduceus*), Zeus (*phidile*, sceptre).

(2) A red-figured *kylix* in the British Museum, assigned to the 'Kodros painter' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 108 ff. no. 82, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1853 xxv. 103—113, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 49 (=my fig. 849), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 214 f. pl. 92 fig. 2401, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 143, 1 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 154 no. 3, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 no. 5), depicts a symposium of the gods. Outside, *A* Amphitrite (dipper, *alabastron*), Poseidon (trident, *phidile*), Hera (sceptre), Zeus (sceptre, *phidile*), Ganymedes (strainer seen edgewise): *B* Aphrodite (*ymematothêke?*), Ares (spear, *phidile* on table), Ariadne (love-gesture of fingers, cp. C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 256, 287 n. 2), Dionysos (*phidile*, *thyrsos*), Komos. Inside, Pherrephatta (love-gesture of fingers?), Plouton (*phidile*, *cornu copiae*).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 694 fig. 502.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 'Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenon-isches.'

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 5 with pl. xlv.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. *supra* p. 1038 fig. 834.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* i. 91 f. fig. 64.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 1028 ff. So already A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 76.

<sup>8</sup> The choice lies between Nike (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik* i. 444, F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgöttin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 9, 39—40) and Iris (J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 13 pl. 24, followed by most modern critics). Somewhat in favour of the former is her long clothing; but decisive for the latter is her position next Hera, not Zeus.



Fig. 849.



Fig. 850.



Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper<sup>1</sup> row of figures on an 'Apulian' *amphora* in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850)<sup>2</sup>. The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena<sup>3</sup> owes something to the Pheidias scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(e) *Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs.*

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaistic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich<sup>4</sup> in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfgötter.' He shows convincingly that they were *ab origine* the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölfstaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionian soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C.<sup>5</sup>, that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiakusgötter'<sup>6</sup>, and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals<sup>7</sup>, in theological speculation<sup>8</sup>, and in magic<sup>9</sup>. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaistic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851)<sup>10</sup>, who now dates it as early as c. 460 B.C.<sup>11</sup> It represents, on Pentelic (?) marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *supra* i. 200 n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 636 ff. Santangelo no. 24. Raoul-Rochette *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 201 ff. pl. 41 (part of which = my fig. 850).

<sup>3</sup> Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike *Apteros* (R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, E, R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxi-xxii. 14 f. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekulé *op. cit.* p. 8 pl. 4, M, Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 22 f. fig. 18).

<sup>4</sup> O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 764-848. See also the same scholar's earlier works: 'Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 1-42 fig. 1 and pls. 1-3, *Triskaidekadische Studien* Giessen 1916 pp. 1-124, 'Zwölfgötter, Zwölfzahl und Zwölfstaat' in *Aus Unterricht und Forschung* 1935 vii. 319-331.

<sup>5</sup> O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 768 f., 771 f., 829 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Id. ib.* vi. 770, 823 ff. Cp. a weighty passage in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 476-478.

<sup>7</sup> O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 830 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Id. ib.* vi. 835 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Id. ib.* vi. 837.

<sup>10</sup> Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 660 (= my fig. 851) with text by E. Schmidt pp. 1-11, O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 790 ff. fig. 2. Width: 1.195 m.

<sup>11</sup> E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 57.



Fig. 851.



(*pléktron*, *kithára*, bay-wreath), Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, *aigís*); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (*caduceus*, *phlos*), Hestia (*pháile*, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned<sup>1</sup>, points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called *ara Borghese* in the Louvre (fig. 852, *a-c*)<sup>2</sup>. This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a *candelabrum* or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?); Apollon (*pléktron*, *kithára*?—wrongly restored as a goddess<sup>3</sup>!) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, *aigís*, helmet?, shield?); Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaizing *santa conversazione*. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites<sup>4</sup>, the Horai<sup>5</sup>, the Moirai<sup>6</sup> are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the *puteal Albani*, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Albani collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853)<sup>7</sup>. This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design<sup>8</sup>, divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (*stepháne*, bridal veil), Athena (*aigís*, helmet, spear),

<sup>1</sup> *Supra* p. 1049 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Clarac Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 1. 170—181 pls. 172—174 figs. 11—17 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 65 f., Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44, pl. 13, 45 (=my fig. 852, *a, c, d*), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2.089<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Geistesl. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1868 p. 193 pl. 5, 1—3 published sketches of the base, made by Pighius c. 1500 A.D., which show the figures without the misleading alterations. A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2137 with figs. 2394—2396 inserts the sketches of Pighius into the drawings of Müller—Wieseler.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* i. 155, ii. 232 n. o fig. 160, iii. 955.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 232 n. o, 372 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 19 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (=my fig. 853), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*<sup>2</sup> Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0.493<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> E. Schmidt *Archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 25 f. ('flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum').

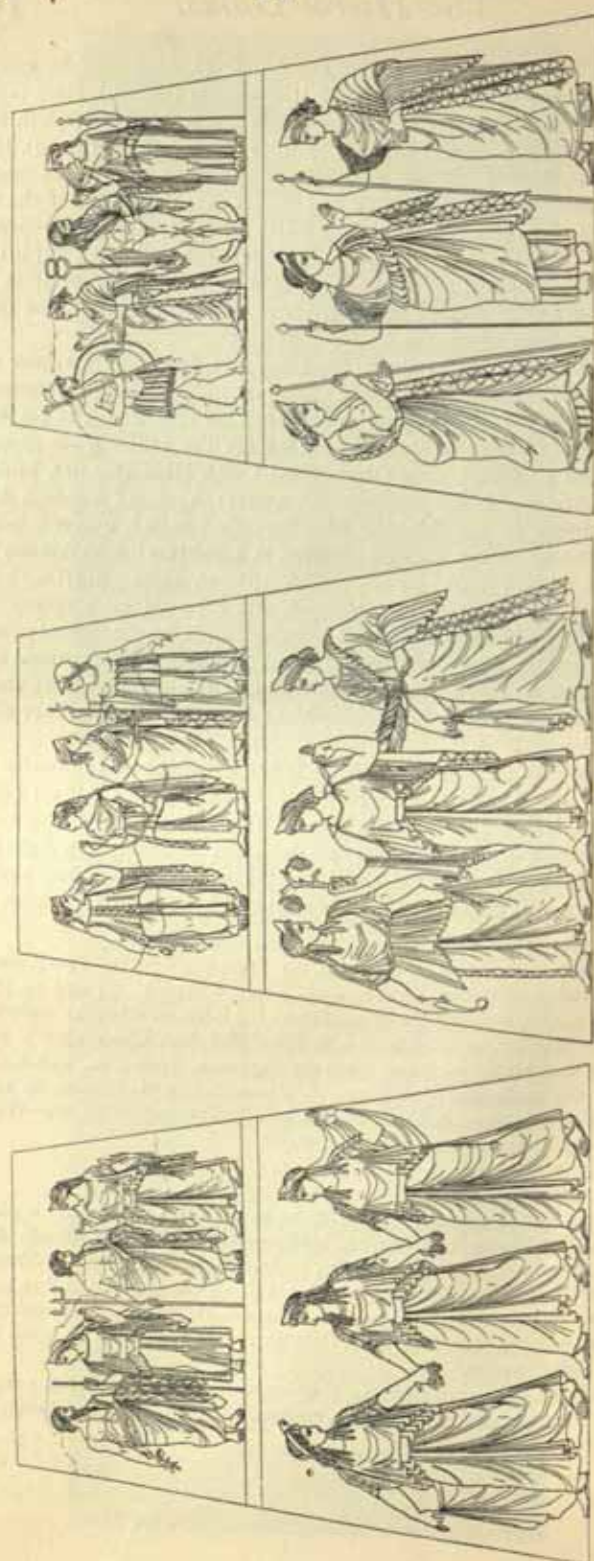


Fig. 852.





Fig. 853.



Fig. 854.

Herakles (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollon (*pléktron*, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (*pétasos*, winged *caduceus*, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called *ara Albani*, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855)<sup>1</sup>. Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto?<sup>2</sup> (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (*stephane*, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (poppies and corn-ears, sceptre), Dionysos (*nebris* restored as breastplate, *thyrsos*), Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis' right knee (fig. 855, c) makes it probable that Apollon, chanting, originally led the way. And a forearm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, a) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega<sup>3</sup> was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker<sup>4</sup>, who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti's objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke<sup>5</sup> too endorses Zoega's view, though with some hesitation. But W. Amelung<sup>6</sup> finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

<sup>1</sup> Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14—26 pl. 1, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 10, 29 a—c, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Alt. Denkm.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach *Rep. Reliefs* iii. 129 no. 1, W. Helbig *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 800. My fig. 855, a—c is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: 0.65 m.

The face of Hera has been retouched, that of Demeter more seriously altered. The head and right arm of Hermes, the face and right arm of Dionysos, perhaps also the legs of the latter, are modern. Hermes was originally bearded; and Dionysos wore, not a breastplate, but a *nebris* over his short *chiton*. The bird on the sceptre of Zeus is not a cuckoo, as G. Zoega thought, but an eagle.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 19 'Hier, unmittelbar vor dem Brautpaar, ist die Stelle der Brautmutter; man hat daher entweder auf Rhea oder Tethys (als Pflegemutter) gedeutet; der Gedanke an Leto (weil sie den Mantelzipfel der Artemis fasst) ist entschieden zu verwerfen, solche in dieser Klasse von Reliefs typischen Züge sind inhaltlich ohne Bedeutung.'

<sup>3</sup> G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.

<sup>4</sup> F. G. Welcker 'Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1842 i. 420 ff. = *id. Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9.

<sup>6</sup> W. Amelung in W. Helbig *op. cit.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 459: 'Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeitstag des Zeus und der Hera keineswegs zwingend.'

<sup>7</sup> Diod. 5. 73 *προβόουσι δὲ πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τηλεῖ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Τηλεῖ διὰ τὸ ταύτους ἀρχηγούς γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πάντων εὐπεράς*, Dion. Hal. *art. rhet.* 2. 2 *καὶ οὗτοι (sc. οἱ θεοὶ) οἱ εὐφρόντες καὶ δεικνύοντες τοῖς γάμοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*. Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἥρα, πρῶτοι ζευγνύοντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες: οὕτω τοὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγνύσθαι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἀρρενι. Cp. Aisch. *Ἐπίγονοι frag.* 55 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. schol. Pind. Isthm.* 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973.





Fig. 855.

that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving<sup>1</sup> to bless the home of their worshippers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii<sup>2</sup> (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

### (10) The *Hieros Gamos* in the Far West.

There is no reason to think that the myth of the *hieros gamos* was ever located at Athens<sup>3</sup>. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity<sup>4</sup>, Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way<sup>5</sup>. But the home

W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 n. o (=id. in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100) 'Nach den Worten des Lex. rhet. p. 670, 28 Pors. [on which source consult W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*<sup>6</sup> München 1924 ii. 2. 876 f.] οὐ γαυόμενος ποιοῦναι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρῃ ἱερὸν γάμον scheint man jede Hochzeit als eine Art Hieros-gamos aufgefasst zu haben.' But?

<sup>1</sup> Cp. e.g. Plant. *Epid.* 610 f. si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter, | ita non omnes ex cruciatu poterunt eximere Epidicum.

<sup>2</sup> (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the *Vicolo dei dodici iddii* runs into the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 206—214 pl. κ, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck *Pompeji* Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 856), A. Mau *Pompeii its Life and Art*<sup>2</sup> trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 236, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*<sup>6</sup> Leipzig 1928 p. 120). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, ass), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (*cithara*), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Iupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Iuno (sceptre), Vulcanus of beardless type (*pileus*, hammer, tongs), Venus *Pompeiana* (*modius*, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptunus (trident), Mercurius (winged *petasos*, *talaria*, purse, winged *caduceus*). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongues) with a background of bay-bushes.

(2) On the outer wall of a house in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. 1, 2, 2 a, R. Delbrueck in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 162 with fig. 17, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*<sup>6</sup> Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl *Mithras* Berlin 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 30 fig. 165 (=my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 808 with fig. 5). The gods, standing *en face* between two (?) Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Iupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Iuno (*stephane*, veil, *patera*, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, *balteus*, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, *Gorgoneion*, *patera*, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, *balteus*, *xyphos*, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, *caduceus*), Proserpina (*modius*, sceptre), Vulcanus of juvenile type (*pileus*, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, *plectrum*, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, *patera*, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the *vicomagistri*.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1047.

<sup>4</sup> Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 320 Jebb (cited *supra* ii. 1021).

<sup>5</sup> Aristoph. *av.* 1758 (cited *supra* ii. 1021, iii. 59).





Fig. 856.



Fig. 857.

of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his *Hippolytos* makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim:

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing  
Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,  
Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing  
By the Sea's Lord is to the seafarer barred!  
O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping  
The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,  
Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping  
By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,  
Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing  
The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping!<sup>1</sup>

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logographer of Leros, who is called an Athenian<sup>2</sup> also, probably because he spent most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says<sup>3</sup>—the gods brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boughs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her garden<sup>4</sup> hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas' virgin daughters, the Hesperides, kept taking of the apples; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree. This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera<sup>5</sup>.

Pherekydes' tale gives prominence to Ge; and it is to be observed that a Pindaric fragment<sup>6</sup>, our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess expressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomenclature of Athens<sup>7</sup>.

#### (11) Inferences concerning the *Hierôs Gámos*.

We have now passed in review the evidence, both literary and monumental, for the *hierôs gámos* of Zeus and Hera. Two points emerge and must be emphasised.

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Hipp.* 742—751 trans. A. S. Way.

<sup>2</sup> Soud. s.v. Φερεκύδης, on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*<sup>6</sup> München 1912 i. 454 f. and W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 710 ff. *Supra* p. 455.

<sup>3</sup> Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 Jacoby) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, Myth. Vat. 1. 106, 2. 161, schol. Caes. Germ. *Arates* p. 382, 21 ff. Eyssenhartd. Cp. the longer account in Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 a and *frag.* 17 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 f. Jacoby). See also Athen. 83 c (*supra* ii. 1021).

<sup>4</sup> This garden is called Ἡρῆς λειμῶν (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164) or θεῶν κήπος (Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*supra* n. 3)). It is identical with the Ὀκεανοῦ κήπος, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. *nuv.* 271). Cp. τοὺς Σελήνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λειμῶνας (Plout. *amat.* 20).

Here grew the trefoil ὠκύθοον (Hesych. s.v.), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 163 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 489 figs. 318 and 319.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* ii. 176 n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1.

On Themis as 'an emanation from Ge' see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 12 ff. Cp. also Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 475 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 101 n. 5 ff., 148 n. 5 f., 1066, 1080 n. 6, 1094, 1166 n. 13.



In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the *Iliad*, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the *Iliad*. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the *Outwitting of Zeus*' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed'.<sup>2</sup> However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos<sup>3</sup>, none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thoukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausanias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the *hieròs gámos* was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the *hieròs gámos* is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia* was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera<sup>4</sup>, and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride<sup>5</sup>. A *kýlix* by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*<sup>6</sup>. At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus<sup>7</sup>; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form<sup>8</sup>.

In short, the case for Hera as essentially and *ab origine* the bride of Zeus is neither proven nor probable.

<sup>1</sup> *The Iliad of Homer* ed. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield London 1898 ii pp. xx, xxiii, 329 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic* Oxford 1907 p. 242 ff. *Id. ib.*<sup>3</sup> Oxford 1924 p. 275 still speaks of 'that late Homeric story of the *Tricking of Zeus*.'

<sup>3</sup> *Supra* p. 1060 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra* p. 1042.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra* p. 1064.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra* p. 1049 n. 2 (2), fig. 843.

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* p. 1045.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra* i. 523, iii. 1032.

## ADDENDA

i. 2 n. 2. For the blue-black eyebrows of Zeus cp. Apul. *met.* 6. 7 nec renuit Iovis caeruleum supercilium. See also S. Marinatos in the 'Apex' Ep. 1927—1928 p. 198 f. (Mesopotamian technique with inlay of lapis lazuli or blue paste), J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 192 f. (normal colouring of Mediterranean physique).

i. 7 n. 2. Add *Anth. Plan.* 121. 3 ἦν ἐφορώσειν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Διὸς ἀόγαι.

i. 15 n. 6. A parallel to the line of Ennius is the fine passage in Pacuvius *Chryses frag.* 6 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 99 f. Ribbeck) ap. Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 17, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 91, *de div.* 1. 131, Non. Marc. p. 209, 8 f. Lindsay.

i. 18 n. 3. See now the dissertation of H. Oppermann *De Jove Panamara* Bonn 1919—1920, revised and partly rewritten in his *Zeus Panamara* Giessen 1924 pp. 1—94, J. Hatzfeld 'Inscriptions de Panamara' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 57—122 (text of 139 inscriptions), P. Roussel 'Les mystères de Panamara' *ib.* pp. 123—137 (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 517 f.), P. Roussel 'Le miracle de Zeus Panamara' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 70—116 with pls. 5 and 6 restores a long inscription, from the wall of the temple, recording how Zeus with sudden flame and fog repulsed troops (perhaps those of Q. Labienus in 41—40 B.C. (Dion Cass. 48. 26)) attacking his sanctuary (summarised by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 223 and by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 539). When the enemy attempted a night-surprise, 7 [---ὁ θεὸς μετὰ φω]τὸς φλόγα πολλήν [α]βήτοισι ἐνερταζεν ὥσ[τε]---]. When they resumed operations the next day, 10 [---συνέβη αὐτοῖς περιχυθῆναι ὁμίλην βλαβείαν ὥστε τοῖς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μ[α]χομένοις λαθεῖν αὐτοῖς] [---κό]κλῳ δὲ περὶ τὸ μ[έ]ρο[ς] τοῦ χωρίου καθ' ὃ πρόσβάλλειν ἐπεχείρησας] [ἐπιγινέσθαι χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ καταρραγῆναι βροντὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ διαλάσσειν ἀστρα]πᾶς διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ δεινῶς κατεπλάγησας] [οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ κραυγὴ πολλή ἦν τῶν βοηθ]ούντων τῶν μὲν ΙΧΘΥΗΝ (so G. Cousin) φωνούστων, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀναβούστων) μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ μέγαν εἶναι Δία Πανάμωρον, κ.τ.λ. A third and final assault was defeated by the shouting of unseen helpers and the baying of supernatural hounds: 24 [---κ]ύκλῳ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον πολιορκούντων, ἀλαλαγμοῖς τε ἀντήχησεν ὡς βοηθείας [ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιγινόμενης, καίπερ οὐδε]νὸς φανομένου, καὶ κινῶν ὅλας τοὺς ἐγγείνετο πολέταις ὡς προσπλ[ε]κομένους τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν κ.τ.λ. A. Laumonier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 336 f. no. 20 with fig. (Stratonikeia) Δομέστεχος | Διὸς Πανάμωρον | καὶ Ἐκάτη on a marble slab above a lion-head (fountain-jet?) in relief.

i. 23 n. 6. On hair-offering see further L. Sommer *Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen* Münster i. W. 1912 pp. 1—86, G. Wilke 'Ein altgermanisches Haaropfer' in *Mannus* 1924 xvi. 64 ff., G. Kossinna 'Zum Haaropfer' 112, R. Moschkau 'Nachtrag zum germanischen Haaropfer' *ib.* 1925 xvii. 121, H. Lewy 'Haarscheren als "rite de passage"' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 203 f., H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1239—1288 ('Haar'), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 475 ff.

S. Aurigemma *Il R. Museo di Spina* Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 62 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a boy, clad in a *chlamys*, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

i. 26 n. 10. Eustath. in Dionys. *per. epist.* p. 209, 14 ff. Müller καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ, τοῖς περὶ Ὀλύμπου θύκοις ἐμπρέπων αἰθέριος, αὐτῇ γαῖῃ αὐτῇ τε θαλάσῃ τὰ κάτω μεταστοιχείωσαι βρενθεται, αὐτοῖς δὲ μὴ ἂν ἐλευσθῆναι κάτω ἀλασσοβέται· κ.τ.λ., *id.* in *Il.* p. 1057, 49 Ζεὺς ἄνα Δωδωναίε, τουτίστιον αἰθέρι καὶ περιγίγναι.

i. 27. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 408 no. 22 records a dedication from Thespiæ [Κα]λλίμαχος [Διός?] | Αἰθρῶν | [Ι]σπερὶ Ἀθάν[αι].

i. 34 n. 3. On the pediment of the temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus* see now A. M. Colini in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1925 liii. 160—200 figs. 1—8 and pl.

i. 38. The heads hanging on the palace-wall appear also on a sarcophagus-lid found in Rome and published by R. Paribeni in the *Not. Scav.* 1926 p. 295 f. pl. 8, a.

i. 41 ff. See further the careful dissertation of A. Schlachter *Der Globus: seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ viii) Leipzig—Berlin 1927 pp. 1—118.



i. 46. Cp. R. Browning *The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church* 47 ff. 'So, let the blue lump poise between my knees, | Like God the Father's globe on both his hands | Ye worship in the Jesu Church so gay.'

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Somzée Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool, restored as a large globe (A. Furtwängler *Sammlung Somzée* München 1897 p. 58 f. no. 87 pl. 34, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 223 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the 'orb of dominion.'

i. 53 with fig. 31. E. Lattes *Le iscrizioni paleolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca* Milano 1892 pp. 104 f., 111, *id.* *Saggi e appunti intorno alla iscrizione etrusca della mummia* Milano 1894 p. 24 f. regards the Orvieto cone as an altar for libation to the dead, and reads *Tinia. tinivil* | *i. asi. iacni* = Iovis diovila (haec est) super ara sancta.

i. 53 f. On the stone of Terminus see also E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137-144 (with which I do not wholly agree: *supra* p. 441), Louise A. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 553 n. 1, and Agnes Kirsopp Lake 'Lapis Capitolinus' in *Class. Philol.* 1936 xxxi. 72 f. (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 219).

i. 53 n. 1 *Grabphalli*. Add F. Schachermeyr in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1916 xli. 377 (Lydia, Karia, Phrygia?), E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 825<sup>b</sup> (Scandinavia), G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 396 (Lydia, raising a series of interesting philological possibilities), H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 247 f. (Scandinavia), A. T. Curle in *Antiquity* 1937 xi. 352 ff. pls. 5-8 (British Somaliland, cp. Galla provinces of southern Ethiopia).

i. 60 with fig. 36. A complete publication of this important sarcophagus is now available, F. Gerke *Der Sarkophag des Iulius Bassus* Berlin 1936 pp. 1-37 with 32 plates.

i. 65. S. Luria 'Asteropos' in the *Berl. Philol. Woch.* Juni 19, 1926 p. 701 f. makes Asteropos the ephor (Plout. v. *Kleom.* 10) no proper name but an old religious epithet of the ephor as such (cp. Plout. v. *Agid.* 11 *ἑφοροι... ὁποῖς ἀστροπὸς ἀστροπῶντες*). V. Ehrenberg 'Asteropos' *ib.* Jan. 1, 1927 p. 27 ff. rightly demurs.

i. 66 n. 5. See further J. van der Vliet 'Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se dignoscantur' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 207 f. and S. A. Naber 'Deorum coronae' *ib.* 1901 xxix. 304-306.

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1918 p. 172 doubts my explanation of Plutarch's human *ἑλεφοί*. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Giron (Ariege) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag's antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier *Fossil Man in Spain* Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte des bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1925 p. 668 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périer *L'Art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 57 pl. 49, 6).

Stag-mummers in south Gaul c. 500 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius *serm.* 130. 1 says: 'Quid enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam mulieris turpi habitu commutare? quid tam demens, quam in compositis vultus induere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescunt? quid tam demens, quam in compositis motibus et impudicis carminibus vitiorum laudes inverecunda delectatione cantare, induti ferino habitu et capreae aut cervo similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem factus sacrificium daemonum fiat?' (xxxix. 2003 Migne), *id.* *ib.* 130. 2: 'Quicumque ergo in Calendis Januarii quibuscumque miseris hominibus sacrilego ritu insanientibus potius quam ludentibus aliquam humanitatem dederint, non hominibus sed daemonibus se dedisse cognoscant. Et ideo si in peccatis eorum participes esse non vultis, cervulum sive caniculam (so E. Maass for *anniculum*, *anulus*, *agniculum* codd.) aut aliqua quaelibet portenta ante domos vestras venire non permittatis...' (xxxix. 2004 Migne). Eligius *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* 5 follows suit: 'Nullus in Calendis Januarii nefanda et ridiculosa, vetulas aut cervulos aut <canes vena> ticos (so I would read for *foeticos*, *foeticos*, *foeticos* codd.), faciat...' (xl. 1172 Migne). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. vest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. infers that at Arelate on the first of January three mummers represented an old woman, a stag, and a hound—in short, the masque of Aktaion, whose story as portrayed by Polygnotos at Delphoi involved precisely these three figures (Paus. 10. 30. 5). J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 260 f.

more wisely postulates a native origin for the custom. And R. D. Barnett in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 393 f. does good service by collecting allusions to it and by noting that a last trace of it is 'the running of the deer' in the carol *The Holly and the Ivy*. A. Nicoll *Masks Mimes and Miracles* London 1931 p. 165 fig. 115 shows a performance of such masked dancers (stag, hare, fox, old woman, etc.) from a fourteenth-century miniature in the Bodleian MS. 264 of *Li Romans d'Alexandre*.

J. G. McKay 'The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians' in *Folk-Lore* 1932 xliii. 144—174 breaks fresh ground and raises a whole crop of important contentions (succinctly stated on pp. 167—169).

My own interpretation of the 'island stones' as representing masked dancers (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. 'The Cult of the Stag') was accepted by Sir W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1931 ii. 484—487 and has of late been vigorously defended by E. Herkenrath 'Mykenische Kultszeneen. ii. Masken' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 420—422. J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Censola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 150 f. publishes two statuettes of votaries in Assyrian style, to be dated c. 700—650 B.C.: no. 1029 wears a bull's head as a mask; no. 1030 wears a stag's head, which he is on the point of removing. Cp. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 487 f. no. 688 a limestone slab with the barbaric relief of a [κυνο]κεφαλος or [λυκο]κεφαλος on one side, that of a bear-headed man on the other.

i. 68 n. 1. The Hesychasts of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century held that divine light shone about the summit of Mt Tabor (S. V. Troitsky in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 427<sup>b</sup>).

i. 70. C. T. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 165 pl. 35, 8 shows that *Chari-* and *Olym-* must be the names of magistrates, not engravers.

i. 70 ff. On the human sacrifice to Zeus *Lykaïos* see now F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 20—25 ('Der "Wolfs-gott" hatte anfangs mit dem hellenischen Zeus nichts zu tun; später erst wurde Lykaïos ein Beiname des Zeus; es war der—allerdings wohl noch spätere—Ausdruck dieser Vermischung, wenn der "wölfische Zeus" das Symbol des Adlers mit übernahm. Der Priester, der sich im Kindesopfer mit dem Gott selbst vereinigt hatte, war selbst wie der Gott ein "Wolf"'), O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 15, 187 (follows Schwenn), Lily Weiser-Aall in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 224 ('Lykaïos bedeutet: der Wölfische; die Ähnlichkeit mit der Erzählung der Völsungasaga [Kap. 8] fällt auf').

i. 81 n. o. Add J. A. MacCulloch 'Lycanthropy' in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 206—220, M. Schuster 'Der Werwolf und die Hexen. Zwei Schauer-märchen bei Petronius' [Petron. *sat.* 61. 5—62. 14 and 63. 1—64. 1] in *Wiener Studien* 1930 xlviii. 149—178, W. Kroll 'Etwas vom Werwolf' *ib.* 1937 lv. 168—172.

i. 87 n. 6. The origin of the sceptre is discussed by C. F. Hermann *Disputatio de sceptri regii antiquitate et origine* Gottingae 1851 pp. 1—17, and more recently by A. Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 368 ff., C. Borchling in F. Saxl *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 235 ff., F. J. M. de Waele *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* The Hague 1927 p. 117 ff.

i. 100. *Olympos*, a pre-Greek word for 'mountain' (C. Theander in *Eranos* 1915 xv. 127—136, M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 269). R. J. H. Jenkins in a valuable, but unpublished, dissertation on *The Religions and Cults of Olympia during the Bronze Age* Cambridge 1932 p. 71 n. 4 (MS.) conjectures that *Ὀλυμπος* was 'the Early Anatolian for "Mountain,"' and that at Olympia it was Early Helladic or Early Macedonian (two branches, south and north, of the same race).

i. 102 n. 4. D. M. Robinson in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1934 lxv. 103 ff. publishes an inscription, of 356 B.C., recording a treaty between Philip of Macedonia and the Chalcidians. This was to be set up by Philip (line 9) [ἐ]ῖ Διὸς ἐς [τὸ] ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[ὸ] Ὀλυμπίου, κ.τ.λ. *Id. ib.* p. 117 n. 26 speaks of the excavations at Dion.

i. 102 n. 5. Mt Carmel affords a good parallel to Mt Argaios (Tac. *hist.* 2. 78 est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. nec simulacrum deo aut templum—sic tradidere maiores—: ara tantum et reverentia). In Mexico and Peru the most prominent peaks were likewise objects of direct worship (E. J. Payne *History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892 i. 404).

i. 107. Professor G. Murray kindly pointed out to me that *Anaktotēlestai* should be rendered 'initiators,' not 'initiates.' Cp. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 202 on the analogous *Orpheotēlestai*.





Fig. 858.



Fig. 859.



Fig. 860.

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner 'De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* 1913 xxii. 245—428.

i. 109. On Axiokers, Axiokersa, Axiokersos consult also Margaret C. Waites 'The Deities of the Sacred Axe' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1923 xxvii. 25—56, E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 225 f., F. W. Schelling *Samothrake und Kabirische Mysterien* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 1—45 ('Über die Gottheiten von Samothrake').

i. 129 n. 2. On the relief signed by Archelaos see further J. Sieveking 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 74—89, G. Lippold 'Musengruppen' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 77—80, M. Schede 'Zu Philiskos, Archelaos und den Musen' *ib.* 1920 xxxv. 65—82 pl. 1, G. W. Elderkin 'The Deification of Homer by Archelaos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 496—500 fig. 1.

i. 131. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 403 f. no. 19 a base from Thespiai formerly supporting three statuettes and inscribed Ζεὺς Μηνοστόργη Ἀπολλων.

i. 132. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 48 f. argues that Archelaos was representing the *omphalos* of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olympus.

i. 134 ff. A rock-cut throne on a mountain near Temenothyrai in Lydia was taken to be that of Geryon son of Chrysaor (Paus. i. 35. 7).

W. K. C. Guthrie in 1932 discovered, just outside a village called *Selki*, on *Finlos Tepe* at the western edge of the Konieh plain, a double rock-cut throne with footstools (figs. 858, 859). Close by were two narrow rock-cut troughs, 'like couches in shape' (fig. 860). I am indebted to Mr Guthrie for the photographs here given of the thrones as seen from below and above, and of the 'couches.'

H. Lattemann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1915 xl. 75 ff. fig. 3 and pl. 13, 2 record a rock-throne near the village of *Kienia* (Stymphalos). They suggest that this throne, which is cut in conglomerate over an empty grave (?) chamber, is to be connected with the local cult of Hera *Xēpa* (Paus. 8. 22. 2), implying a dead Zeus as in Crete.

i. 150. The sword-dance of the Kouretes and Korybantes round the infant Zeus is discussed by L. von Schröder *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigeveda* Leipzig 1908 p. 118, F. Kidson—M. Neal *English Folk-song and Dance* Cambridge 1915 p. 146 f. See, however, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 38: 'Es ist doch... ungleich wahrscheinlicher, dass die göttlichen Kureten und Korybanten mythische Gegenbilder zu irdischen Tänzern sind, als dass diese den Göttertanz nachahmten, wie Schröder (131 ff.) glaubt.'

i. 152. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19= my fig. 861 (white marble *stèle* of local style, c. 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).

i. 152 fig. 125. A coin of Akmonia with similar type is published by E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4.

i. 153 fig. 129. An interesting variant of this coin is given by C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 452 with fig. 11.

i. 155 n. 8. Add B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 105 no. 1793 col. ix, 1 f. οὐκ ἐστὶ γυνὴς | παῖδας ἐν Ἡραλίῳ στήθεσσι Εὐφροσύνης (sc. the Charites, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4).

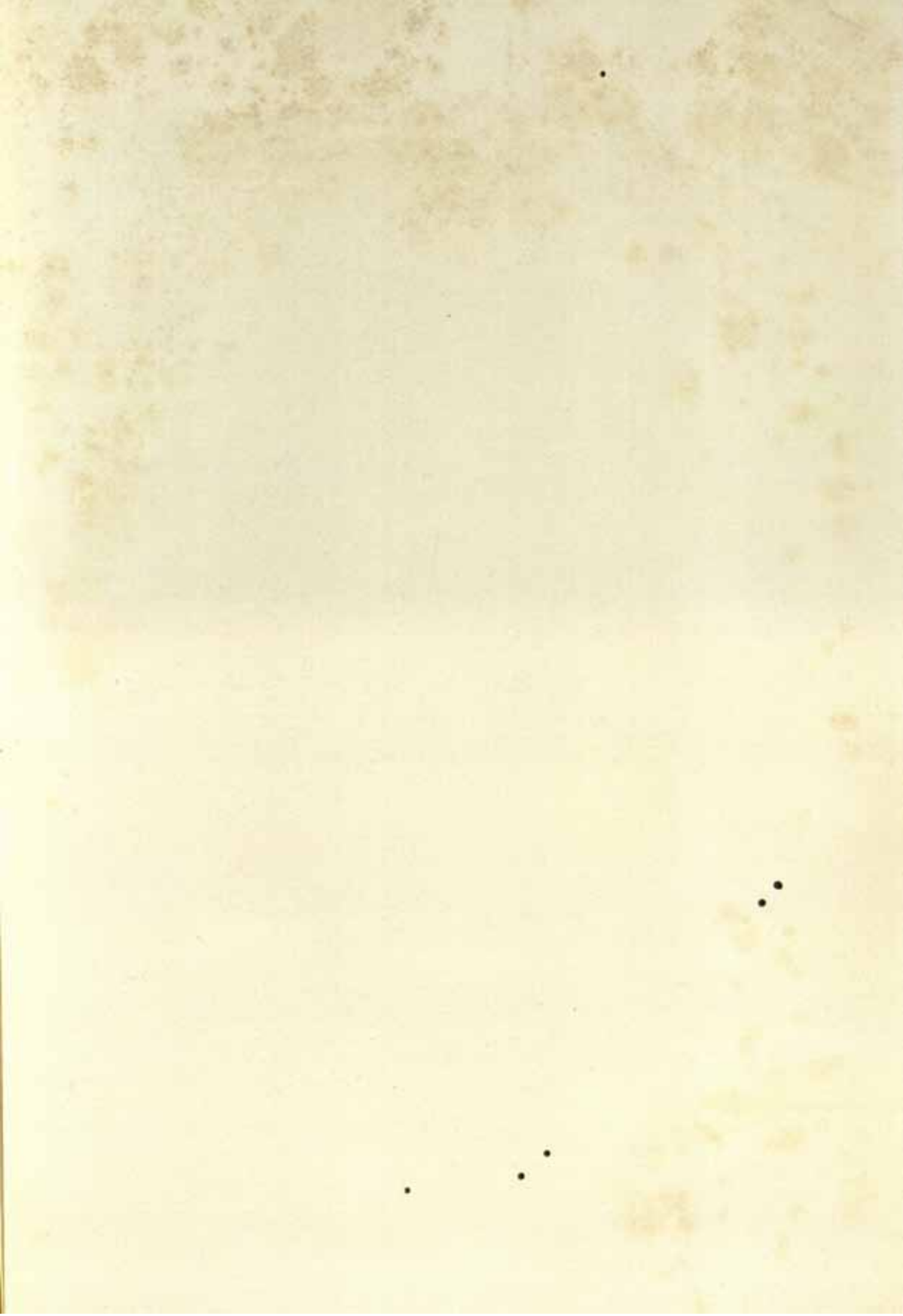
i. 157 n. 3. My friend and former pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: 'The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anogeia, who really does know his mountains *παροῦντι παροῦντι* as they say. It was à propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally *στροφὴ Στραυρὸν τοῦ Τροχάδου*. "They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Erotokritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here." In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anogeia (*supra* i. 163), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.'

i. 162 n. 1. Cp. Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 154 with fig. 113 b, 1928 ii. 1. 81 f. figs. 37 and 38.

i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* Paris 1922 pp. 1—72 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1922 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. o. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 181—192.







A bust of Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 ff.) in *lapis lazuli*, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*<sup>2</sup> p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0·131<sup>m</sup>. A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a *kdlathos*.  
The technique points to a date c. 300 A.D.





i. 198 on the sun conceived as a wheel. Aetios *plac.* 2. 20. 1 (p. 348, 3 ff. Diels) 'Αραξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) ὁκτωκαίκοσάπλευστον τῆς γῆς, ἀρματεῖα τροχῶ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρὸς, κ.τ.λ., Achilles Tatios *diag.* 19 (p. 46, 20 ff. Maass) τινὲς δὲ, ὡς ἐστὶ καὶ 'Αραξίμανδρος, φασὶ πέμπειν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) τὸ φῶς σχῆμα ἔχοντα τροχῶ ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τροχῷ κοίλῃ ἐστὶν ἡ πλῆμυρ, ἔχει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατεταμέναι τὰς κημίδας πρὸς τὴν ἔξωθεν τῆς ἀψίδος περιφορὰν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ κοίλου τὸ φῶς ἐκπέμποντα τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῶν ἀκτίνων ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς κύκλῳ φορεῖν, κ.τ.λ., Ennius *frag.* 335 Bährens *op. Isid. orig.* 18. 36. 3 inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum, Apul. *met.* 9. 28 cum primum rota solis lucida diem peperit.

i. 198. E. H. Sturtevant 'Centaur and Macedonian Kings' in *Class. Philol.* 1926 xxi. 235—249 takes Κένταυροι (κεντ- αυρο-) to be a Thracian term for Φόλιππος.

i. 199 ff. on representations of Ixion. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for photographs of an unpublished amphora in the Museo Campano di Capua (pl. lxxv), which shows the hero on his fiery wheel.

Dimitar P. Dimitrov in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii Arch. Anz. pp. 69—75 compares the British Museum mirror (*supra* i. 204 pl. xvii) with a Roman relief of Ixion and Tantalos in the Museum of Stara-Zagora, Bulgaria, and with an Attic red-figured sherd from the Forum Romanum (*ib.* figs. 1—3).

R. von Schneider in the *Serta Harteliana* Wien 1896 p. 281 f. with fig. (after the *Bullettino di arti e curiosità veneziane* 1895 iv. 39 f. fig.) notes a relief of c. 1100 A.D., found between the Duomo and the Baptistery at Torcello near Venice, in which Ixion appears stretched, face outwards, round the external circumference of a wheel. To right and left of him stand two women, in long girded attire, one with her torch raised, the other with her torch lowered.

i. 211 on the religious origin of punishments. Cp. F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1900 xiii. 130 f. ('to kiss the rod' implies its sanctity).

i. 225 n. 4 Dryas. Another parallel is the myth of *Idas* ('Woodman'?) as told by schol. B.D. II. 9. 557.

Sphairos occurs as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Rhodes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 261 pl. 41, 4). F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a.d.S. 1917 p. 605 notes Σφαῖρος Λάκων as an Olympic victor of 640 B.C. (Euseb. *chron.* i (i. 198, 30 Schoene)).

i. 231 n. 8. P. Couissin deals with 'casques à rouelle' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 77 ff.

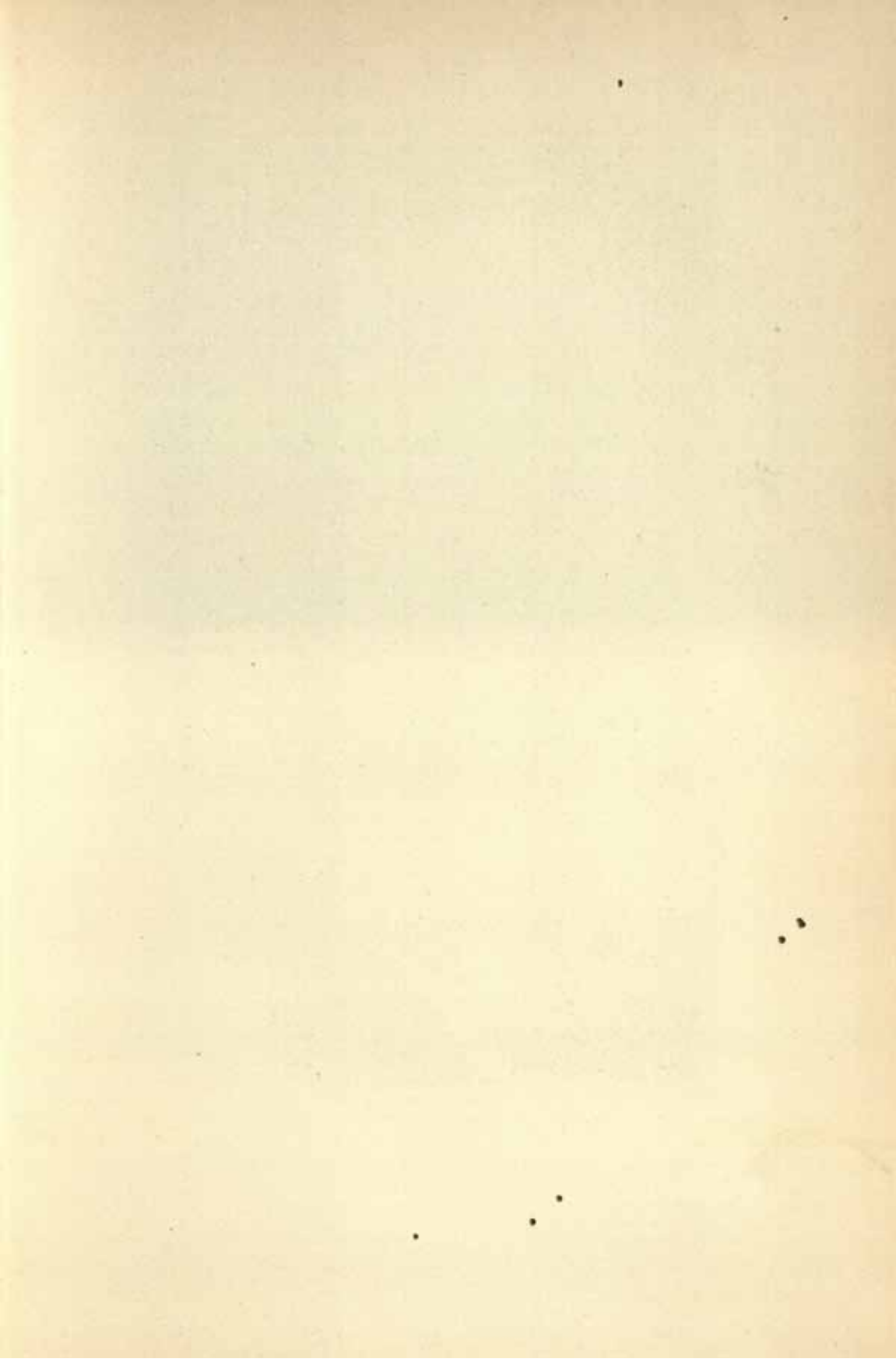
i. 232. Professor S. A. Cook informs me (Oct. 1, 1929) that he regards the lettering of the Gaza coin as Aramaic rather than Phoenician, on account of the *H. Id. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 147 n. 1 'The lettering resembles that on the papyri of Elephantine and is rather more archaic than the jar-handles of Jericho; it is Aramaic rather than Phoenician (note the form of the *h*).' cp. *ib.* p. 186.

E. L. Sukenik in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1934 xiv. 178 ff. pl. 2 and fig. 1 cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not *Yhw*, but *Yhd*—that is *Yehūd* 'Judah.' He and others following his lead (e.g. W. F. Albright in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 1934 liii. 20—22, R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1935 xvi. 211 f., D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 451) conclude that *Yhd* must be the true reading of the coin in the British Museum. But Professor S. A. Cook in a further letter to me (Oct. 23, 1935) asks very pertinently 'Is it natural to put a mere place-name on a coin, like "Judah"? Any Greek numismatist would answer 'No.'

In this connexion note also the seal of 'Elishama son of Gedaliah' published by G. Dalman in the *Palästina-Jahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 1906 ii. 44 ff. (S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* p. 34 f. pl. 9, 1, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 528 with fig. 177). The seal shows Jehovah as a bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends in a bird's head.

i. 238 ff. On Kirke's gloriole see S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 21 f. The alleged Persian *lab* is perhaps derived from the ἐνυπαρχία τοῦ ἀλφειῶν in the *et. Gud.* p. 598 λάμβδα...παρὰ τὸ λαβ· λαβ δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς χάσμα λέγεται,







a

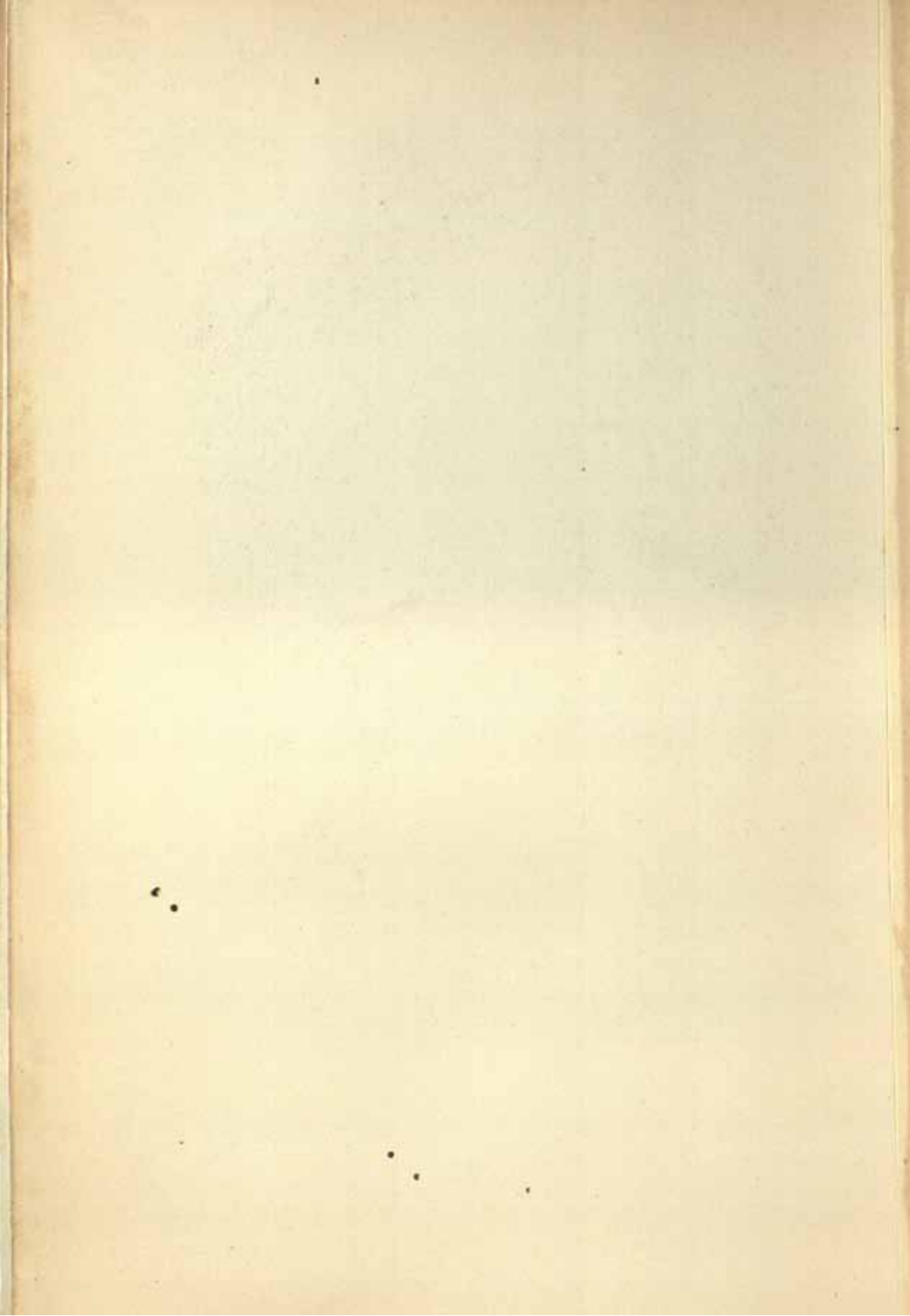


b

*Amphora* in the Museo Campano di Capua :  
Ixion on his fiery wheel.

*See page 1072.*





cp. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 Δάβ τὸ ὀδάριον πῦρ, and see further F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 30 f.

P. Wolters 'Kirke' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 209—236 pls. 14 and 15 discusses a Boeotian *skýphos* at Nauplia, which represents Kirke as magician, Odysseus, and three of his sailors transformed into swine.

E. Schwyzler in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1920 xxxviii. 158 f. takes Αἰαίη (*vāgos*) to be for αἰαῖη=αἰαῖη, 'die Insel der Morgenröte.' But R. B. Onians in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for Nov. 30, 1926 p. 454 derives Αἰαῖη and Αἰήτης from Αἰα=Αἰ'α, the Hebrew or Phoenician word for 'sparrow-hawk, falcon.' See further V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* Paris 1902 l. 214, 1903 ii. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemais (*Menshijeh*) dedicated to Ἀπὸλλων καὶ Ἰέρων θεῶν | κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr.* xl. no. 52) implies that Horos was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 636 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollon (*supra* i. 626 n. o; add J. D. Beazley *The Lewis House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 41 f. no. 47 pl. 3).

E. Reiss 'Studies in Superstition and Folklore vii. Homer' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1925 xlii. 222 ff. discusses the magic circle (pp. 222—224) and Kirke as a witch (p. 227 f.).

i. 247 n. 2. See now A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1915 ii. 45 f. no. 1699 pl. 81, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 179 fig. 1.

i. 255 f. Cp. A. S. F. Gow 'ITIZ, POMBOZ, *rhombus, turbo*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with 11 figs.

i. 259 n. o. The fragment of Pindar has now turned up on a papyrus of s. i A.D. (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 84 ff. no. 1791 pl. 3). It confirms the conjecture of Schneidewin. See also D. S. Robertson in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 218.

i. 262 *lynges* of gold. G. Karo 'Schatz von Tiryns' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 127 f., 138 f., pls. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo *ib.* p. 128 compares the 'ear-phones' of the Lady of Elche, and *ib.* p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar *lynges*?

i. 269 ff. on the wheel of Nemesis. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 296—321 with figs. 1—4 has an important collection of texts and monuments: *id. ib.* p. 310 n. 2 discusses the association of Nemesis with Helios and the solar symbolism of her wheel. B. Schweitzer 'Dea Nemesis Regina' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii. 175—246 pl. 1 f. and figs. 1—21 publishes an interesting relief at Brindisi, in which Nemesis confronts us standing on a naked human figure (summary by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 533). H. Herter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2338—2380 devotes a long and painstaking article to the goddess, accepting many of my results, but demurring to some.

i. 270 n. 5. But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*<sup>2</sup> p. 183 no. 1696 points out that the supposed car is merely a wheel at her feet *plus* a fracture of the stone!

i. 271 on the wheel of Fortuna. D. M. Robinson 'The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 501 ff. describes and illustrates Hellenic pebble-mosaics from the two rooms in the north-east corner (fig. 1) showing a four-spoked wheel with quadruple rim and a smaller four-spoked wheel with double rim—the whole accompanied by the inscription ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ (fig. 2, δ), also a double axe, *swastika*, hand (?), etc. disposed round a Macedonian square, which is lettered ΑΦΡ|ΟΔΙ|ΤΗΚ|ΑΛΗ and accompanied by a second inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΛΗ (fig. 2, α). *Id. ib.* p. 505 n. 1 collects literary allusions from Pind. *Ol.* 2. 23 f. and Soph. *frag.* 787 Nauck<sup>2</sup>=871 Jebb *ap.* Plout. v. *Demetr.* 45 (cp. *frag.* 575 Jebb) onwards, adding that the wheel of Fortune appears here for the first time in art.

i. 273. For A. C. Orlandos' investigation of the site at Rhamnous see his 'Note sur le sanctuaire de Némésis à Rhammonte' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 305—320 with figs. 1—11 and pls. 8—12 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 109 f.). Further study of the site by W. Zschietzschmann in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlii Arch. Anz. pp. 441—451 figs. 1—4.

i. 273 on the relation of *Nemesis* to *Nemetona* etc. J. Coman *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle* Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 285) of a confusion between *Nemesis* goddess 'of the Greenwood' and *Nemesis* 'righteous wrath.' On p. 22 n. 2



Coman, following Boisacq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2385 f. inclines to my view of *Nemetona* as akin to *Nemesis*.

i. 276 n. 5. On *ὑπερχειρ χεῖρα* or *χεῖρας*, Hyperdexios, Hypercheirios, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 260 f.

i. 283 n. o. See further H. Mager *Water Diviners and their Methods* trans. A. H. Bell London 1931.

i. 285. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 125 publishes a plaquette (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at *Ploudio* (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men??) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

i. 288 f. the Celtic god with a wheel. M. Prou in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1915 pp. 100—104 with 2 figs. publishes a terra-cotta statuette of this god (Taranis?) found at Nérès (Allier). His head and the lower parts of his legs are missing. His right hand, which is slightly flexed, holds a wheel against his side. His left hand rests on the head of a small figure with uplifted arms.

i. 292 n. 2. The second disk from Corinth is now included in De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 44 no. 1694 pl. 76 ('Oracle d'amour(?)'). A third from Corinth is in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 161 no. 878 ('Child's Toy'). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Vulci, is figured by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1561 fig. 2064 ('Crepitaculum, Crepitacillum').

i. 292 n. 8. Strictly comparable with the great terra-cotta disk from Olympia are the fragments of two *akrotéria*, in terra cotta, from the older temple at Phigaleia (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Apex. Ep.* 1933 p. 1 ff. col. pl. 2 and pl. 3). See further C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brünn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien 1929 pp. 1—56 with 4 pls. and 12 figs. (reviewed by E. Douglas Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 520 f., by C. Picard in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1930 pp. 177—179, by S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133).

i. 297 n. 2. See now L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean Plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 173—205 with 11 figs. Examples could be multiplied—an ivory seal from *Perachora* (H. G. G. Payne in *The Illustrated London News* for July 8, 1933 p. 66 fig. 10), a Thasian *plithos* of 1. vii B.C. (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 253 with fig. 14), etc.

i. 299 *Sérios* used of the sun. Cp. S. Ronzevalle 'Hélioseiros' in *Archéus* 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).

i. 299 ff. the Lycian Symbol. Cp. Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 29 ff. figs. 21—23.

i. 303 the *Kyklopes* as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 xiii. 33 no. 1604 Pind. *dith.* 1. 6 f. [Κυκλώπων πτόλις ἀφ' ἧς] [ ] ἢ ἐν Ἀργεῖ μεγάλῃ. . . See further S. Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2329 f., 2342.

i. 305 n. 9 G. F. Hill on the Sicilian *triskelti*. But C. T. Seltman in his *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 190 shows that the *triskelti* as symbol of Sicily occurs first on coins of Dionysios I struck shortly before 383 B.C., then on those of Timoleon, and thirdly on those of Agathokles.

i. 307. H. Mattingly in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 9 publishes as 'probably unique' an *as* with rev. SICILIA S.C. and a large Gorgon's head in a *triskelti*.

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man; their origin, history and meaning' in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* xxxix. 205—226.

i. 309 figs. 247 and 248. N. E. Henry 'Classic Sicily' in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iii. 147 figures an 'Ancient Mosaic Symbol representing Three-Cornered Sicily'—much like the coins of Eborac Cerialis.

i. 309 on solar legs. P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 35 n. 5: 'En Haute-Bretagne, on dit que le soleil a des jambes [ou des tirants] quand il y a en dessous des rayons qui semblent toucher la terre' (*id.* in his *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne* Paris 1882 ii. 363).

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei Halle (Saale)* 1921 p. 28 pl. 65.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclope et Cucln' in *Mnemosyne* 1930 lviii. 302—308 advances some venturesome views. Basing on Eva Fiesel *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* Ergänzungsheft v) Göttingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-European peoples of the period

Helladic i knew a god of death, \**Cuclup* (Etruscan *Cuclū*), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero \**Uthisse* descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stratagem (*supra* ii. 989). Hence in the Mycenaean age \**Uthisse* develops into both *Odris* and *Odrasēis* (ὄδρασσεῖς), while \**Cuclup* becomes *Kéklwψ*, and in the *Odyssey* the original *καραδάσις* is attached to other adventures of Odysseus. Summary in the *Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 213.

i. 326. On the fire-boards of the Chuckchees see also Miss W. S. Blackman in *Folk-Lore* 1916 xxvii. 361 f.

i. 327. L. Siret 'Prométhée' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 132—135 with 2 figs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

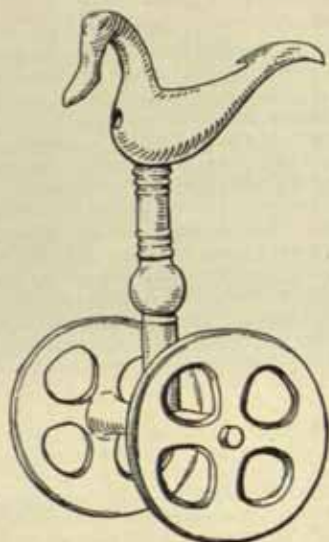


Fig. 862.

Cp. G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 64 *Vafþrúdnis-mál* 22 'Mundilfori (Fire-auger) was the father of the Moon and also of the Sun' with note *ib.* ii. 468 'the Fire-Auger, the holy Drill by which some Teutonic Prometheus first woke the elemental flame'.

i. 328 Odysseus akin to Prometheus the fire-god(?). J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun-God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 justly ridicules the contentions of J. Menrad *Der Urmythos der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung, Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt* München—Lindau 1910.

i. 330 n. 1. Eumath. 6. 14 τοῦτο φησὶ τὰς ἀερὸς (*supra* ii. 1141) ἐπαυλίσσασθαι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς προμηθείας plays on the connexion of Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 τῷ γὰρ τοῖς Ἐπιμηθεὶ τὸ μεταμελεῖν ἀνωφελέως ἀφυσίωται. κ.τ.λ., but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus Προμηθεύς.

i. 333. In the *Rigveda* 10. 89. 4 heaven and earth are compared with the wheels at the two ends of an axle (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 9).

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from 'Pharsalos,' but more probably from Pherai (*Velesino*), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 862: scale 1/4). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

i. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 162 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.



Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 22 f. fig. 13 (after A. Minto *Marsiliana d'Albegna* Firenze 1921 p. 291 fig. 30 pl. 52 = F. von Duhn in *Ebert Reallex.* viii. 53 pl. 11, b) cites a horse with a four-spoked wheel apparently resting on its back—a motif impressed on a bucchero-jar from Marsiliana.

Cp. the combination of horse with wheel below it, which occurs frequently on Gaulish imitations of the gold coins issued by Philip of Macedon.

i. 334 fig. 265. With this *pointillé* design of horse + disk + bird-like man (?) cp. the *pointillé* design of horse + wheel + bird + man on the bronze double axe mentioned *supra* p. 605 n. 3 and figured *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff.

i. 334 n. 2 the Trundholm chariot. See now J. Brøndsted 'Pferd und Sonnenscheibe auf dänischen jungbronzezeitlichen Rasierrmessern' in *Acta Archaeologica* 1931 ii. 199 ff., J. Bing *Der Sonnenwagen von Trundholm* Leipzig 1934 pp. 1—46 with 47 figs. and 7 pls.

i. 336 n. o. See further W. Deonna 'À propos d'une pendeloque archaïque de Tégée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 229—239 figs. 1—8.

i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Seltman notes *Il.* 8. 41—50.

i. 339. Cp. R. U. Sayce 'A May Day Garland from St Neots' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1932 xxxii. 57 f. with pl. 1.

i. 341. D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 594 reports that at Tanis (Auaris) in 1934 P. Montet and P. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: 'The good god, son of the sun, beloved of Hurun of Ramises' (i.e. of Pi-Ramesses, the Deltaic capital of Ramesses II). It is argued that Hurun was the falcon-god of the Horites of Mt Seit, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.

i. 345 the Leucadian 'leap.' See further S. Eitrem 'Der Leukas-Sprung und andere rituelle Sprünge' in *ΔΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ* 1923 vii. 127—136, E. Strong—N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 103—111 ('Apotheosis by Water'), K. Kerényi 'Der Sprung vom Leukasfelsen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 61—72. *Supra* p. 136 n. 3.

i. 348 Zeus Ammon. O. Eissfeldt 'Zeus Ammon' in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 1935 xii. 407 f. ('Der Gott der Oase ist also—von einer vielleicht noch älteren heimischen Vorgeschichte abgesehen—von Haus aus der phönizische Baal Hammon, der erst sekundär, vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ab, mit dem ägyptischen Amon verschmolzen worden ist').

i. 349 fig. 271. The Naples bust of Zeus Ammon is now well published by O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 51 ff. no. 37 pl. 20.

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 337—341 with figs. 4—6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus Ammon found at *el Qêr* near *Behnesa* (Oxyrynchos). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (1'20" high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in *chiton* and *himation*, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

A terra-cotta antefix (6 inches high), formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 420 no. D 697), has the horns coloured red (my pl. lxxvi is from an unpublished photograph).

i. 350 f. Our earliest reference to the *Ammonéion* occurs in a fragment of Hes. *γυναϊκῶν κατάλογος* (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1915 xi. 44 ff. no. 1358 frag. 2 col. i, H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 69, *id.* in an Appendix to his Hesiod in the Loeb Classical Library p. 632 ff. frag. 40 A, 10 ff. [φῶλα τ' ἀπέπρεσιν Μελαγχρότων λιθῶν τε] [τοὺς Ἐπάφω] τέκε Γαῖα πελώρη χρησιμο-λόγοις τε] [μυαποσόν] γε τε πανομφαλῶς Διὶς εἰδότες ἀσπρ.] [ψέστας δ', ὅ]φρα θεοῖσιν ὑφείμ] εἶνοι ἀσπρ[θῶν] [ἀνθρώποις.] τῶν μὲν τε νόοις [γλ]ωσσοῦ καὶ ὅπ[ερ]θεν.

i. 352 n. o. A. H. Krappe 'The Karneia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 380—384 treats Karnos as a ram-shaped deity of the grape-vine akin to Dionysos.

i. 353 Lysandros and Ammon. Cp. Iambl. *de myst.* 3. 3 p. 108, 13 ff. Parthey.

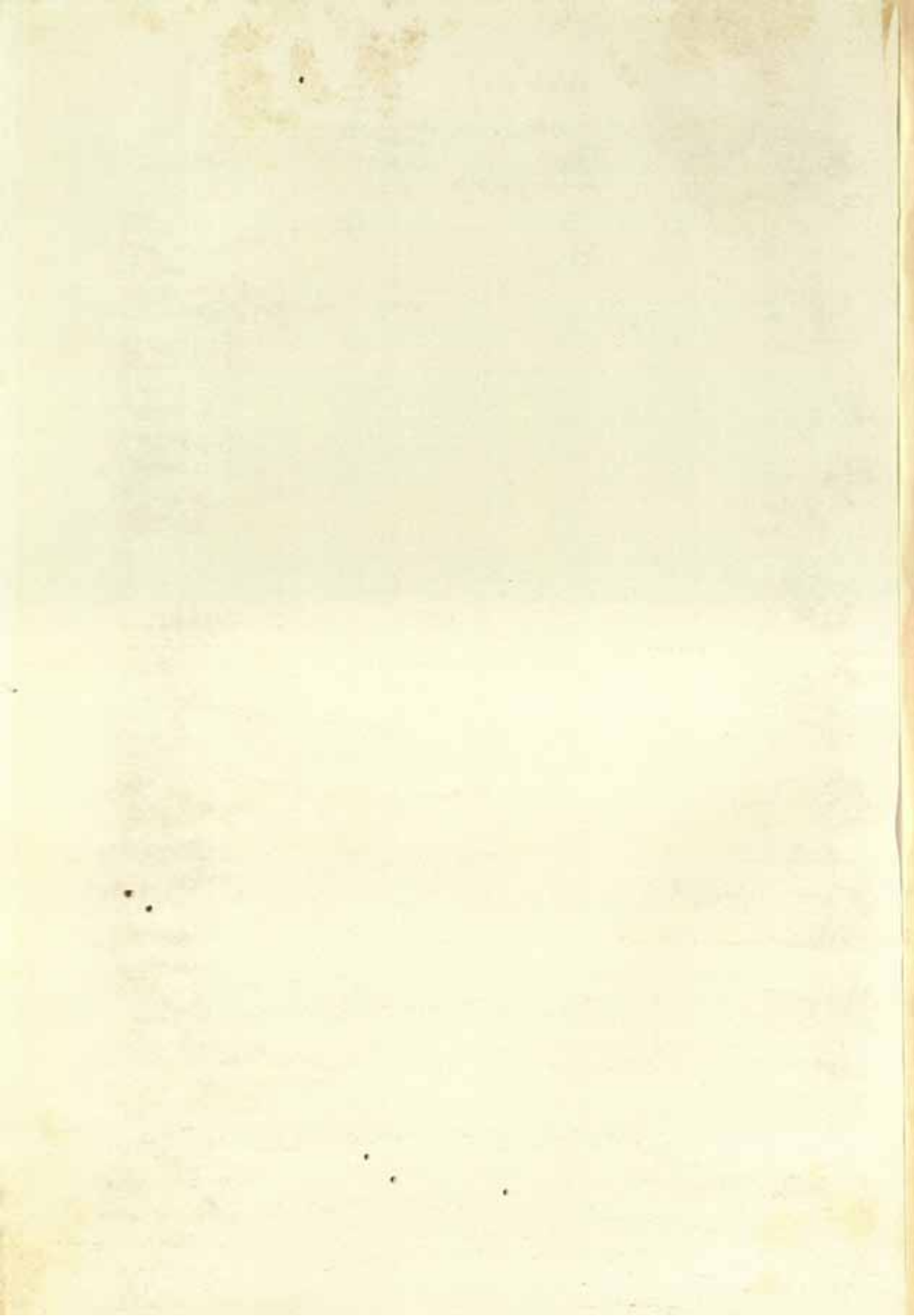
i. 353 Alexander the Great and Zeus Ammon. Recent discussions of this topic include E. Vassel 'Le béliér de Baal-Hammon' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 79—107, G. Radet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1925 pp. 201—208, D. Cohen 'De Alexandro Magno Ammonis oraculum consultante' in *Mnemosyne* 1926 liv. 83—86, V. Ehrenberg *Alexander in Aegypten* (*Der Alte Orient* Beiheft vii) Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—58, H. Berve *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* München 1926 i. 1—357, ii. 1—446 ('Kultus und Religion'), U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1928 pp. 576—603, H. Berve in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 370 ff.,



Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum :  
Head of Zeus *Ammon*.

*See page 1076.*





G. Pasquali 'Alessandro all' oasi di Ammone e Callistene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1939 lvii. 513—521. U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug zum Ammon. Ein Epilog' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1930 pp. 159—176. R. Vallois 'L'oracle libyen et Alexandre' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xlv. 121—152. J. A. O. Larsen 'Alexander at the Oracle of Ammon' in *Class. Philol.* 1932 xxvii. 70—75. cp. *id. ib.* p. 274 f. G. Radet 'La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon par Alexandre' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 779—792 (summary by H. I. B[ell] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1935 lv. 110).

i. 355. G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1908 ix. 64—69, followed by Oria Bates *The Eastern Libyans* London 1914 pp. 189—195 J. E. Harrison in *The Spectator* Feb. 27, 1915



Fig. 863.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faience models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—of which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (*supra* p. 882 n. 2).

For the sandstone *omphalos* from Napata see *supra* p. 882 n. 2 with fig. 719.

i. 360 n. 6. E. Bevan *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* London 1927 p. 10 explains the alleged guidance of the two snakes on rationalistic lines.

i. 361. On the identification of the Nile with Zeus see H. T. Deas in the *Cambridge University Reporter* Feb. 15, 1927 p. 758 (reading Pind. *Isthm.* 2. 42 Νείλου ὑπὸς αὐγὰς, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc.*) and in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xli. 213 ('Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say Διὸς αὐγὰς, Pindar can say Νείλου αὐγὰς'). *Supra* p. 348 f.

i. 362 f. P. Giles in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1916 p. 48 summarises A. Fick's identifications of the Mediterranean tribes invading Egypt. H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 275—283 devotes a section to them ('The Keftians and the Peoples of the Sea'). F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 28 f., 986 is more concise. L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92 includes a general survey of Aegaeon



pre-history. Further literature in A. Götze *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 pp. 186—188 ('Die ägäische Wanderung').

i. 365 f. the grove of *Ammon*. M. Schede in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 212—215 fig. 10 publishes a votive relief of island marble (height 1.17 m), found in 1910 at *Tigani* in Samos. This represents, in the style of s. i n.c. (?), a half-length herm of Zeus *Ammon* with a long sceptre in his raised right hand, a palm-tree at his left side, a shield (?) slung above his head, and an altar before him, on which stands a ram, presumably the gift of the woman suppliant. She holds a sprig of olive in her left hand and raises her right in prayer to the god. My fig. 863 is after A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 414 fig.

i. 369 K. A. Neugebauer in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 268 regards the Berlin bronze statuette of 'Poseidon from Dodona' (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 172 pl. 63, c) as probably a Zeus *Náios* of late Hellenistic, eclectic, style.

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as *ΛΙΒΙΑ* for *Livia*, who by a play on *Λιβία* is linked with *Ammon*.

i. 373 Apollon *Karneios*. So F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Apollon Karneios auf kyrenäischen und anderen griechischen Münzen' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1917 xxi. 1—17 pl. 1, followed by Sir G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1918—1919 p. 18 f. ('convincing').

i. 376. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 141 pl. 78 (=my fig. 864) publishes a *phryx*-vase at Bari, which shows a visit to the oracle of Zeus *Ammon*. On a wooden platform supported by Ionic pillars sits Zeus, a dismal white-haired figure, characterized as *Ammon* by his ape-like features and the palm-tree at his side. He grips his eagle by the throttle, and turns to face his visitor—an old man with pointed *phlos* and knotted staff, who is mounting the steps to the platform. Meantime the traveller's servant, with a stick in one hand, a basket and a pail in the other, and a bundle on his back, looks longingly at the provender.

i. 379 n. 7. To the bibliography of Siwah add the well-illustrated monograph by C. D. Belgrave *Siwa: the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1923 pp. 1—310 and the remarks of S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 334 f. on the Libyan rock-cut inscriptions and the Greek inscription found there by M. de Prorok.

i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 437—440 describes a small bronze coin found in the oasis, with *obv.* a ram walking to the right, *rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit, probablement, d'une pièce frappée sous un des premiers Ptolémées à l'Oasis').

i. 395 *vervecens Iuppiter*. Cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. id.* no. 4477 (at *Acis ben Tellis* in Numidia) d. b. s. (*dis bonis sacrum?*) | C. Aponius | Secundus sacerdos agnu domini, tauri domini, ovicula Nutrici, berbece Iovi, ovicula Teluri, agnu Herculi, agna Veneri, edu | Mercurio, | verbe. Testimonio . . . m. . . LXV (date?) (*instrumenta ad sacrificandum*), no. 4477<sup>a</sup> (in the same place) d. b. s. | C. C. Primus, | sac. Saturni, agnu tauri domini, ovicula Teluri, berbece | Iovo, ovicula | [Nu]trici, capone | [H]erculi, edu Merc[ur]., aedua Veneri, ber[bec]e Testimonio | (*duo animalia*) [p]ecora | . . .

i. 395 n. 2. A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 45, accepting the etymology of *Indra* propounded by H. Güntert *Der arische Weltkönig und Haland Halle (Saale)* 1923 p. 13 f., views the name as 'dérivé d'une forme \**indro*, apparentée au slave *jedro*, "testicule," tchèque *jadro*, "moelle," au pluriel "testicules," et dont la base commune est \**oid*=tumescere. Comparer aussi *oidōu* et le v. nor. *eista*, "testicule." *Indra* est donc l'homme fort, viril, comme en Scandinavie *Thor*, qui était souvent appelé *Thorrkari*.' The sequel in Krappe is also *ad rem*. But other derivations of *Indra* are noted by Walde—Pokorný *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 332, and a timely warning is sounded by Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 247<sup>b</sup>.

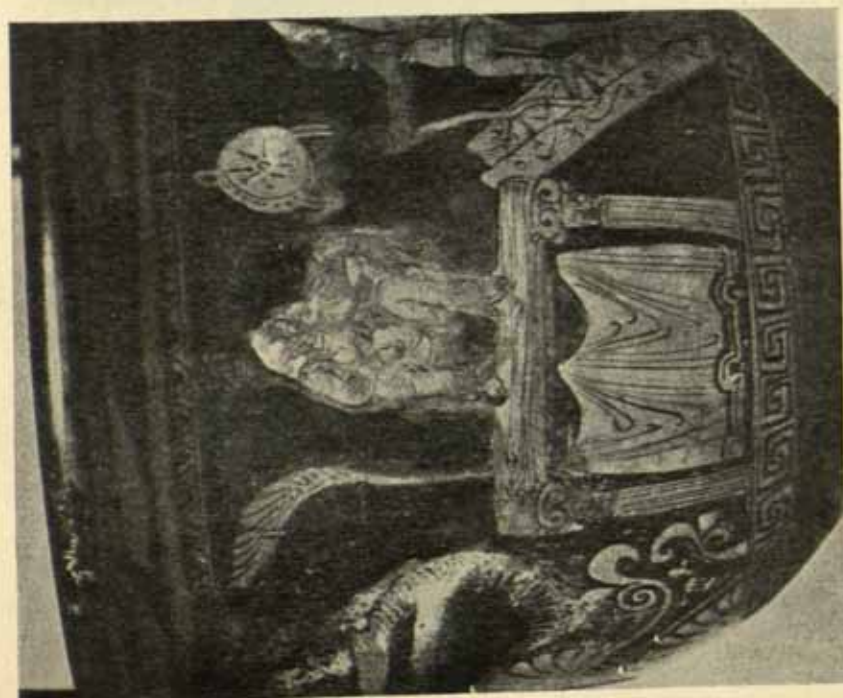
i. 395 n. 3. *Ἰντρα*. Better *Ἰντρα*, as J. Keil 'Meter Hipta' showed in the *Wiener Eranos zur fünfzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Graz* 1909 Wien 1909 p. 102 f. (O. Kern on Orph. frag. 199).

i. 396 n. 1 on the snake as phallic. Cp. P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Demons* Paris 1612 p. 124 'Que le membre du Diable s'il estoit estendu est long environ d'une aulne, mais il le tient entortillé & sinieux en forme de serpent.' See further E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 149 ff. and M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) p. 126 ff. ('The Serpent as a Phallic Emblem').



b

Fig. 864.



a



i. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. in Verg. *ael.* 1 prooem. (iii. 2. 329, 1 Hagen) hircus Libyca lingua *tityrus* appellatur.

i. 404 purple-fleeced sheep. A. D. Nock in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1925—1926 p. 16 n. 3 cites G. Rohde's remarks in F. Jacoby *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* Berlin 1925 v. 60 f.

i. 404 golden-fleeced sheep. E. L. Mijatovich *Serbian Fairy Tales* London 1917 pp. 141—149 ('The golden-haired Twins') tells how the Twins became successively two trees with golden leaves and golden blossoms, two boards of a bed made from these trees, two sparks from the fire that burnt the bed, 'two beautiful lambs with golden fleeces and golden horns,' two golden-haired boys. See also S. Thompson *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (FF Communications No. 106) Helsinki 1932 i. 296 B 105. 1 'Ram with golden fleece.'

i. 405 ff. the golden lamb of Atreus. C. A. J. Hoffmann 'Ueber den goldenen Widder des Atreus' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1838 v. 1122—1137, O. Immisch 'Das goldne lamm des Atreus' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1890 xvii. 302—308, A. H. Krappe 'Atreus' Lamm' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 182—184 (citing remarkable Iranian parallels for a great ram as 'ein Symbol der Königswürde, ein Regalium' [sic!] from the 'Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpakān,' founder of the Sassanid dynasty (T. Nöldeke in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1879 iv. 44 f., also in Firdusi *Le Livre des Rois* trad. J. Mohl Paris 1877 v. 230 ff.)).

Ach. Tat. *isagog.* 20 in schol. Arat. ed. Maass p. 48. 14 f. Ἀτρεὺς γὰρ εἶπε τῶν πλανήτων τὴν ἰνάντιον φορέαν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡλίον ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς κυλιόμενον καὶ φερόμενον εἰς δυσμὰς.

i. 406 the golden lamb identified with the sceptre. Cp. Sen. *Thyest.* 228 f. tergore ex huius novi | aurota reges sceptrā Tantalei gerunt.

i. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goerres *Studien zur griechischen Mythologie* (Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie und Archäologie x 2) Berlin 1889 i. 72—120 ('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamassage'), A. H. Krappe 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, id. 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 (contends that the myth arises from the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest son in time of famine, and a familiar type of Märchen. Krappe attempts to reconstitute the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece' in *The Classical Journal* 1926—1927 xxii. 541.

i. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1910 pp. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken *stèle* of white marble, found at Larissa in Thessaly, which shows Danae daughter of Aphthonetos on her knees before Leukothea. The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her himation. In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: Λευκαθ[α] | Δανδα | Ἀρθων[ε] | *ἱεῖα* (sc. *ὀνείτωκε* or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44 (a Minyan myth under Cretan-Carian influence) and J. Wackernagel 'Λευκαθέα' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 44—46 (c). *Λευκαθέωντων* in Hes. sc. *Her.* 146 ὀδόντων... Λευκά θεόντων, cp. *Λευκαθίζω* 'weiss glänzen').

i. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rossbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives in *qua iouis in celum ascendit* (L. Deubner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 51<sup>b</sup>). It is tempting to conjecture in *qua ovis in caelum ascendit*, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'

i. 420 n. o. R. Dussaud 'Une épreuve subie dans un chaudron' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lviii. 309, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 185.

P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 228 cites R. Mouterde in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscri. et belles-lettres* 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from 'Ahîrê in El Leja recording a thunderstorm and a death by lightning Α(γ)αθῆ Τόχη. | ὅτε ἡ κεφα(ν)ο-βόλτα ἐγένετο κατ[ε]λ[ε] (ἀ)π[ε]θεώθη (F. Cumont would read καταπεθεώθη) | Ἀδοσι Ἀμ[ε]λᾶδου ἐτρον κρ. (120 in the era of Bostra = 225/226 A.D.).

i. 422 human 'bears'. Cp. G. C. Moore Smith 'Straw-bear Tuesday' in *Folk-Lore* 1909 xx. 202 f. with two pls., V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' *ib.* 1930 xli. 266—279 with pls. 9 and 10, *ead.* *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 pp. 16—25, 62 f., 108—111, 144, 225 f., 236 with fig. opposite p. 18 ('The Bear Hunt in French Catalonia'), Will-Erich Peuckert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 893—896 ('Der B[är] als Vegetationsdämon').

i. 423 the 'fleece of Zeus.' W. Kroll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii Beiheft p. 39 discusses the Scythian custom recorded by Loukian. *Taxar.* 48 [with which cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 45. 630 a 22 f.]: 'So wird auch das Sitzen des Mysten auf dem Fell zu erklären sein: er schliesst einen Bund mit dem Gotte, indem er die Haut des diesem geweihten Tieres betritt.' T. Zachariae 'Auf einem Fell niedersitzen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 635—638 adds Indian parallels.



Fig. 865.

i. 423 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of *Maworodapia*. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert *hydra* c. 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoryski collection at Goluchow near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekränzte Bräutigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the *Corp. vas. ant.* Pologne, Gofuchów p. 23 f. pl. 32, 3 a, 3 b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prétendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésée n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

i. 424. On the mouse in religion and folklore see J. V. Grohmann *Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mäuse in der Mythologie der Indogermanen*, Prag 1862 pp. 1—87.



W. R. Dawson in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1924 x. 83—86 (the mouse as folk-medicine), *id.* 'The mouse in fable and folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1925 xxxvi. 227—248, J. U. Powell 'Rodent-Gods in Ancient and Modern Times' *ib.* 1929 xl. 173—179, J. U. Powell and A. R. Wright *ib.* 1929 xl. 392 f., H. Mørland in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 96 f. (sorex 'mouse'), Riegler 'Maus' in the *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 31—60, Ohrt 'Mäusesegen' *ib.* pp. 60—62.

i. 429 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his phallós tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Délos* Paris 1926 p. 261, *cp. ib.* p. 483).

i. 431 Mnevis. H. Bonnet in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. ii with fig. 48 illustrates a stèle of New Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt *Choix de monuments égyptiens* pl. 16) showing the worship of Mnevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

i. 432 Apis with tokens of sun and moon. Late Egyptian terracottas represent Apis as a bovine bust with a solar disk and uraeus set between his horns and a lunar crescent slung round his neck. So *e.g.* on a specimen in the Whitway Collection now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (fig. 865).

i. 436 f. Bouchis. After a series of newspaper notices (*e.g.* in *The Daily Telegraph* for Dec. 11, 1928, *ib.* Jan. 3, 1929, *ib.* Jan. 4, 1929 (six figs.), *ib.* Feb. 27, 1929 (six figs.), *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 12, 1931) and at least one official report (R. Mond and W. B. Emery 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Armant' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1929 xvi. 3—12 with figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—20) a full account of the excavations at Hermonthis (Armant) has been put together by Sir R. Mond, O. H. Myers, and H. W. Fairman *The Bucheum* (Forty-first Memoir of The Egypt Exploration Society) London 1934 i The History and Archaeology of the Site (pp. 1—203), ii The Inscriptions (pp. 1—92), iii The Plates (pls. 1—173)—a work reviewed by G. Brunton in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 250 f. and by A. H. M. Jones in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 117. See also W. W. Tarn 'The Bucheum Stelae: a Note' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 187—189.

i. 436 n. 4. In Alkaios frag. 35. 3 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 158. 3 Edmonds, 91. 3 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 430 B—C ὁ Βόκχης and in Alkaios frag. 46 n. 10 Diehl *ap. pap. Oxyrh.* 1234 frag. 3 καὶ πρὸς Βόκχιδος the ancients took Βόκχης to be an Aeolic form of Βάκχης (*et. mag.* p. 216, 47 ff. = Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν* frag. 553 (iii. 351, 9 ff. Lentz) Βόκχης βρομα Αἰολικόν. παρὰ τὸ Βάκχος Βάκχης καὶ Βόκχης ὡς ἱππὸς ἱππῆς καὶ οἰκὸς οἰκῆς καὶ τρῶν τῶν ἄ εἰς ὃς βᾶθος βᾶθος), *cp.* H. L. Ahrens *De Graecae linguae dialectis* Gottingae 1839 i. 78, R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).

i. 437 ff. Recent literature on Io includes J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with pl. (*supra* p. 633 f. n. o), G. Mellén *De Ius fabula copita selecta* Upsaliae 1901 pp. 1 ff., R. Engelmann 'Die Iosage' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 pl. 2 (*supra* p. 634 n. 1), L. Deubner 'Zur Iosage' in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 481—492 with pl., F. Jacoby 'ἸΩ ΚΑΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374, J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzfliehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 49—53 ('Io').

C. Sourdis 'Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Epaphos' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1912 pp. 267—276, J. Vürtheim *op. cit.* pp. 30—41 ('Epaphos').

i. 438 Bakchos in Asia Minor. A. Götz in the *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 iii. 1. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity Bakis (W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 40 ff. no. 22 (pl. 9), 9 [= J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 22, 9] *kakē bakillis*, 'priest of Bakis' (?), on a marble stèle of 2. iv B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardis), whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (see the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8) [= J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 20] *namai bakivalis artimul* | *Návaras Dionysouklōs* 'Aprēmi: on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardis and referred to the second half of 2. iv B.C.). *cp.* also *Sardis* vi. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from the same site inscribed [?m]a[n]ēl bakivalis man[el]is] τ[α] q. q. ? [= J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 21].

i. 441 ff. priests and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 298 thinks that Peleides (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as sows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen.' Their *καταστροφισμός* came later. W. M. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name *Gaglabos Edagabos* with the help of Hesych. δᾶρος... καὶ ὁ τὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian

*Attabokasi* with the help of ἀττηγός (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1625, 37 f.), *attagus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5, 6), and *Hipponax frag.* 2 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 46 Knox *ap.* Tzet. in *Lyk. Al.* 425 and 741 καθῆς (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 362 ff.), Hesych. κοῆς: ἱερεὺς Καβείρων... οἱ δὲ κοῆς as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian Αἰγικορεῖς as priests wearing Athena's aigis. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 155 ff. no. 1802 (a glossary of late second or early third century) *frag.* 3 col. ii, 29 ff. [μ]f[λ]υσσαι: [ἡ] τῆς Δήμη[τρος] ἱερεῖα. ἡ αὐτὴ 'Απολλωνία? ἐν τῇ α' "ἐπ[ό]γουσαν δὲ τὸν κάλαθον ταῖς Νό[ν]φαις σὺν τῷ ἱστώ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς Περσεφόνης, αὐτὴν παραγένοιθαι εἰς Πάρον καὶ ξενί[α] εἶσαν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Μελίσσῳ χαρίσασθαι ταῖς τοῦτον θυγατρῶσι οὐσαι ἐξήκοντα τὸν τῆς Περσεφόνης ἱστόν, καὶ πρώταις αὐταῖς ἀναδοῖναι τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθη τε καὶ μυστήρια· ὅθεν καὶ μελίσσας ἔκτοτε κληθῆναι τὰς θεσμοφοριαζούσας (κληθῆναι) γυναῖκας." P. Clement 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigenia legend' in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1934 iii. 393—409 cites two Thessalian dedications to Artemis by devotees called νεβροί (*Inscr. Gr.* *sepl.* iii. 2 no. 1123 Δυναρίῃ Μελανθίου Ἀρτέμιδι Παγασιτίδι νεβροῖα[...], where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'An νεβ[ρο]έω[σα] ut ἀρκτεόσα, i.e. postquam deae νεβρον [sic] nomine inservivit?' and N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Arch. Ἐφ.* 1931 p. 178 f. no. 18 fig. 1 the white marble cap-stone of a statue-base from Larisa inscribed Ἀρτέμιδι Θεοσία ἱππολόχοι ἱππολόχειος ὑπ[έρ] | Εὐμορέας Ἀλεξικτείας νεβρονοῖα[...], where Clement interprets Θεοσία as 'goddess of fertility' (Θορ. θρω. θρω. [supra i. 681 n. 4]), derives νεβροῖ from 'νεβ-ος a parallel of νεβ-ρος, and claims that the legend of Iphigenia's sacrifice arose from the ritual of the νεβροῖα in the cult of Artemis at Aulis—a most attractive hypothesis. F. R. Walton in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 xlii. 167—189, discussing the *Ichneutae* of Sophokles, contends that the chorus of Satyrs were conceived as a pack of hunting dogs, cp. Poll. 5. 10 ἰχνευτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ κύων and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1651 an inscription from the Asklepieion in the Peiraieus which ordains 3 ff. Μαλαῖται πόπανα τρία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τρία· Εὐμοῖ πόπανα τρία· Ἰασοῖ πόπανα τρία· Ἀκασοῖ πόπανα τρία· Πατρακταῖ πόπανα τρία· Κισίων πόπανα τρία· Κυνηγέται πόπανα τρία. But it is far from certain that the Κῶες and Κυνηγέται of this inscription were human beings. G. Kaibel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1901 p. 506 points out that in Plat. *Phaon frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 441 E—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, Lordon, Kybdasos, Keles are grouped with Κισίω τε καὶ Κυνηγέταις and infers that the latter, like the former, were Priapic deities. L. Ziehen in *Leges Græcorum sacræ* ii. 70 ff. no. 18 after further examination concludes: 'Itaque inferos daemones Κῶας et Κυνηγέτας dici persuasum habeo' etc. C. M. Bowra *Greek Lyric Poetry* Oxford 1936 p. 43 ff. holds that Alkman's famous *parthénion* was sung at a joint festival of Dionysos and Helene. 'The Λευκιππίδες, led by their two leaders or πᾶλοι, sing the song in competition with the Πελαεῖδες before the presentation of some gift to the appropriate gods and a race at the dawn' (*ib.* p. 54). F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 906—910 has compiled the latest and most serviceable list of these usages. But it would be possible, and profitable, to go yet further in the same direction. Many examples of mythical metamorphosis might be explained along these lines. To give but one instance—the Κορινθίαι of the Boeotian tale told by Ant. Lib. 25 (ἱστορεῖ Νικάνδρου ἐρεπουμένων δ' καὶ Κόρινθα γερῶν α') and retold with variations by Ov. *met.* 13. 685 ff.

i. 447 ff. Kleobis and Biton. See also S. Eitrem 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger* 1905 No. 1 pp. 1—14 (criticised by L. Deubner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Nov. 4, 1905 pp. 1402—1405), L. Weber 'Tellos, Kleobis und Biton' in *Philologus* 1926 lxxxii. 154—166.

i. 448 Zeus at Nemea. On the American excavations of 1924—1927 see C. W. Blegen 'The American excavations at Nemea, season of 1924' in *Art and Archaeology* 1925 xix. 175—184, *ib.* 1927 xxiii. 189, *ib.* 'Excavations at Nemea 1926' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 421—440 figs. 1—14 (of which fig. 3 = my fig. 867), cp. M. Clemmensen 'Le temple de Zeus à Némée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 1—12 figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—2 (= my fig. 866) plan and 3—4 details of order, R. Vallois 'Remarques sur le temple de Némée' *ib.* pp. 13—20 figs. 10—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2318—2322. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of *póros*, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of votive offerings found under the plaster of the later *témenos* yielded proto-Corinthian and Corinthian sherds, terracottas, and small bronzes. The new temple, built c. 330 B.C., was a Doric peripteral structure with 6 × 12 columns, 2 columns in the *prónaos*, but no *opisthódomos*. Inside were two rows of 6 Corinthian columns. At the western end of the *naós* 2 other columns marked off an *adyton*, which took the form of a sunken but unroofed



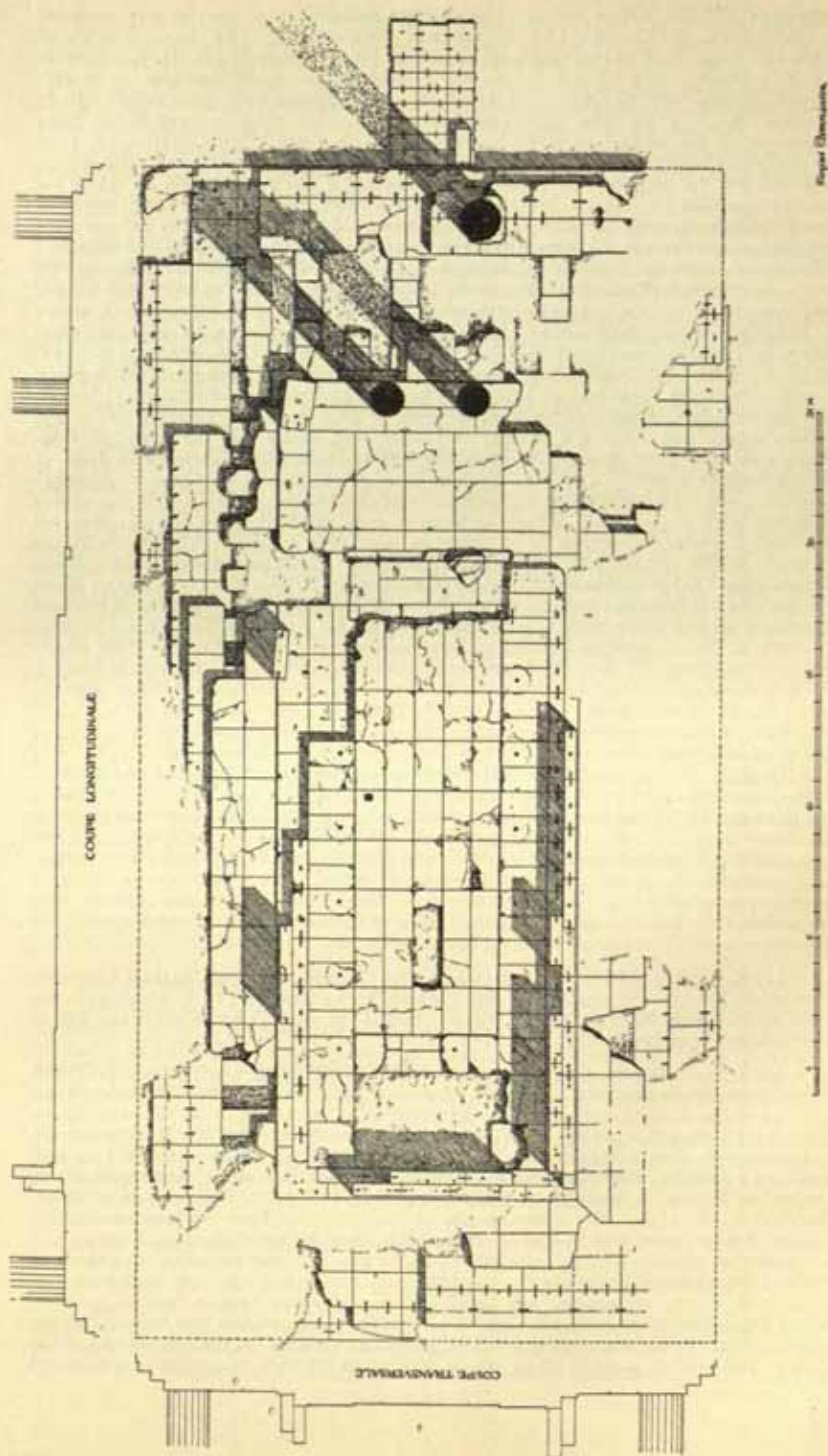


Fig. 866.

crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1.98<sup>m</sup> below the level of the *nais* and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean *sanctum* is unknown. The temple had a marble *simā* carved in relief with *akanthos*-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-façade are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40.58<sup>m</sup> long by 2.42<sup>m</sup> wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A *póros* base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a *boustrophedon* dedication in lettering of s. vi B.C.: 'Απρίστ με δρέθηκε Δι Ὀπολὸν βαλὼντι παρὰ πόρον νεφὸν τετραπύλιν | ἐν Νεφέων Φειδοίοντος φηδὸν τῷ Κλεοφάλο (C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 432 f. fig. 10, W. Peek in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1931 p. 103 f. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet eked out by an iambic pentapody. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 44—47 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast



Fig. 867.

bull (0.083<sup>m</sup> in length, 0.070<sup>m</sup> in height) found in 1927 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the *pointillée* inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ | ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

i. 450 n. 1 'Other Authors.' See *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18 lemma.

i. 453 Io *Kallithyessa*. F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374 supports the main contention of A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. that there was an ancient cult of Hera at Tiryns (*supra* i. 454 n. o) against the criticisms of C. Robert in *Hermes* 1920 lv. 373 ff., but argues that the Tirynthian Io *Kallithyessa* (a Hesiodic, not Callimachean, tag) was split by Hellanikos 'Ισπευα τῆς Ἡρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεὶ into two Argive figures—Kallithyia the first priestess and Io (cp. *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 455 Jacoby).

i. 453 n. 8. On the pillar of Hera *Argelia* see now P. Kastrites 'Ἡρας Ἀργεῖας ξόανον' in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1920 pp. 53—56 with figs. 1—3.

i. 456 Epimenides and the Nemean lion. G. W. Dyson in the *Class. Quart.* 1929 xxiii. 195 thinks that Epimenides perhaps claimed to be a reincarnation of the soul of the Nemean lion.

i. 457 Hera *Argelia* and the Moon. A late Graeco-Roman relief in reddish marble (height 2 ft 1½ ins), found at Argos and now in London, shows a facing bust of Selene in an arched niche bearing the signs of the zodiac. The goddess has a horned moon on her head and seven stars grouped round her. Below has been added the 'Gnostic'



inscription Iain · φραιφρι · καρωθρα · λικουσιτα · δωδεκακιστη · Σαβαωθ · αβωθερας (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpt.* iii. 231 f. no. 2162 fig. 26 = my fig. 868, Reinach *Rep. Reliefs* ii. 489, 1).

i. 461 n. 1 Zeus Panōfētes. Anonym. *enarrat. brev. chronogr.* (dated c. 750 A.D. by K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*<sup>2</sup> München 1897 p. 424) 48 (in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* i. 53 Preger) à propos of Julian and the bronze group at Kaisareia Paneas (*supra* p. 971 n. 1) says: καὶ τὸ φυτόν δὲ κατέκαινε, καὶ Διὸς εἰδωλὸν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνατεθεικὸς καὶ ταύρων· ἐν οἷς καὶ ναὸν οἰκοδομήσας ἐπέγραψε τὰδε· "θεῶ Διὶ Παντεπότῃ· Ἰουλιανὸς Πανεδὸς εἰς δώρον ἀγεί.".

i. 464 Theos Tauros. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 321 is his no. 11 or 12) and *ib.* p. 393 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεὸς | Ταύρου, making a total of six, all found at Thespiai. A gold coin of the city Pushkalivati, with *rev.* Indian bull inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΣ above and Ὑπάθε below (E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 557, 587 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Śiva (*supra* i. 637, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 135 πῦρ με φέρει, θεόταυρε (v.l. ὦ ταύρε); uses the compound of Zeus.



Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick 'Asklepios und die heilschlange' in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. cj. μῦθον <χαλκῆν> δῶκων, 'playing at blindman's buff.'

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 16, ii. 108. Cp. J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 59 f. no. 43, 2 pl. 58 'Polyeidos, Glaucus et Minois' with n. 5.

i. 472 ff. The Labyrinth continues to provoke discussion—witness the following monographs: R. de Launay 'Les fallacieux détours du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1915 ii. 114—125, 348—363, *ib.* 1916 i. 295—300, 387—398, ii. 119—128, 295—300, 413—421 (takes as his starting-point the Round Building of Early Helladic date (third millennium B.C.), some 28<sup>m</sup> in diameter, at Tiryns (K. Müller in *Tiryns* iii. 80 ff. pls. 5, 29, 30), which appears to have been the earliest palace (Müller *loc. cit.* p. 87, G. Karo in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1455)). E. Hommel 'Zur Geschichte des Labyrinths' in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 1919 xxii. 63—68 (holds that the maze-form in Crete and on Babylonian tablets represents the internal organs of man's body. On which showing the Labyrinth is 'a microcosm of the earth and a macrocosm of the human anatomy' (W. F. J. Knight in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 105)). H. Diels 'Das Labyrinth' in the *Festschrift A. v. Harnack* Tübingen 1921 pp. 61—72. W. H. Matthews *Mazes and Labyrinths* London 1922 pp. 1—254 (well illustrated). A. Piganiol *Recherches sur les jeux romains* Strasbourg 1923 p. 103 (le ludus Troiae). Humborg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 312—321, G. Karo *ib.* 321—323, H. Kees *ib.* 323—326. R. Winter 'Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel' in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft*

*und Jugendbildung* 1929 v. 707—720 figs. 1—6 ('Es ist hier versucht worden, Verbindungs-linien zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden Europas im Altertum nachzuweisen'). W. F. J. Knight 'Vergil and the Maze' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 212 f., *id.* 'Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game' in *Antiquity* 1932 vi. 445—458, *id.* 'Myth and Legend at Troy' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 98—121. R. Eilmann *Labyrinthos* Athen 1931 pp. 1—106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention (*supra* i. 476 f.) that the Cnossian coin-types originated in a *swastika*). C. N. Deedes *The Labyrinth* ed. by S. H. Hooke London 1935 pp. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard 'Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' [an island of the New Hebrides] in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after death), *id. ib.* p. 170 'the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far removed from the bull-headed Minotaur', *id. ib.* 1937 xlviii. 115—182 'Labyrinth Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.'

i. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic representing the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, has actually come to light at Taormina (P. Orsi in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).

i. 481 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (*βασίς*) to guide the dancers (I. R. Arnold in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 455 [F. Dürbach *Interprétions de Délos* Paris 1926 ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 75 ff.]).

i. 482 n. 1 the altar of horns at Delos. See further É. Cahen 'L'autel de cornes et l'hymne à Délos de Callimaque' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1923 xxxvi. 14—25 ('il est peut-être difficile de voir dans le *Kératôn* l'autel principale du culte apollinien à Délos. Ce sera plutôt, à côté du *βωμὸς* centre de la liturgie officielle, comme un autel très antique, où s'attachaient les souvenirs les plus vénérables de la religion délienne, avec les rites primitifs de la γάμος, de la διαμαρτυρία, d'autres encore' [Kallim. *h. Del.* 300—324, Hesych. *ζ.ν. ἀγλαῖος βωμός*]). R. Vallois 'Topographie délienne. i. L'Artemision, le Monument des Hyperboréennes, l'Olivier sacré et le Kératôn' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 411—445.

The archaic temple of Dreros, built for Apollon *Delphinios* (*supra* i. 729 n. 2) early in 5. viii B.C., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form. A hollow structure of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?) lid with a circular hole in it (0.15 m across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded potsherd. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns (mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a *keratôn* comparable with that of Delos (*supra* i. 482) (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 lx. 224 f., 241—244 figs. 17, 18, pls. 26, 27, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1936 li Arch. Anz. pp. 215—222 and 227 with figs. 1—4).

i. 483 *swastika* and maeander. A. S. Georgiades in the *Αρχ. Έφ.* 1914 p. 195 pl. 5 figs. 1, 2, *ib.* 1915 p. 94 fig. 1 publishes a fine *swastika*-pattern, which he calls the 'Βρετρικός μάλανδρος', from the monastery of S. George at Eretria.

i. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Bursian *Aventicum Helvetiorum Fünftes Heft* Zürich 1870 (= *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* xvi. Abth. 1. Heft 5) p. 58 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic, found in 1830 at Cornared in the canton of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum: the design shows a Labyrinth with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur in the centre.

i. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here assembled. Sir J. Marshall *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Part I*, 1913—14 Calcutta 1915 p. 25 f. pl. 23 fig. c publishes an enamelled terra-cotta relief, found by M. Duroselle in the ruins of the Shwegugyi pagoda in Burma (s. v A.D.), showing among the subjects that relate to Buddha's fight with Mara two bull-headed beings with human bodies and limbs, nude except for a loin-cloth. The type is suggestive of the Greek Minotaur.

F. Quilling *Minotauros. Der Veredarterstein im Saalburgmuseum* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—40 (severely criticised by E. Anthes in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* April 3, 1920 pp. 322—326).

Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in 'Minoan' or Mycenaean art, and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood had not the wish been father to the thought. He holds that the mixed creatures of human + animal type, which occur first in the 'Late Minoan' age, are due to the impact of



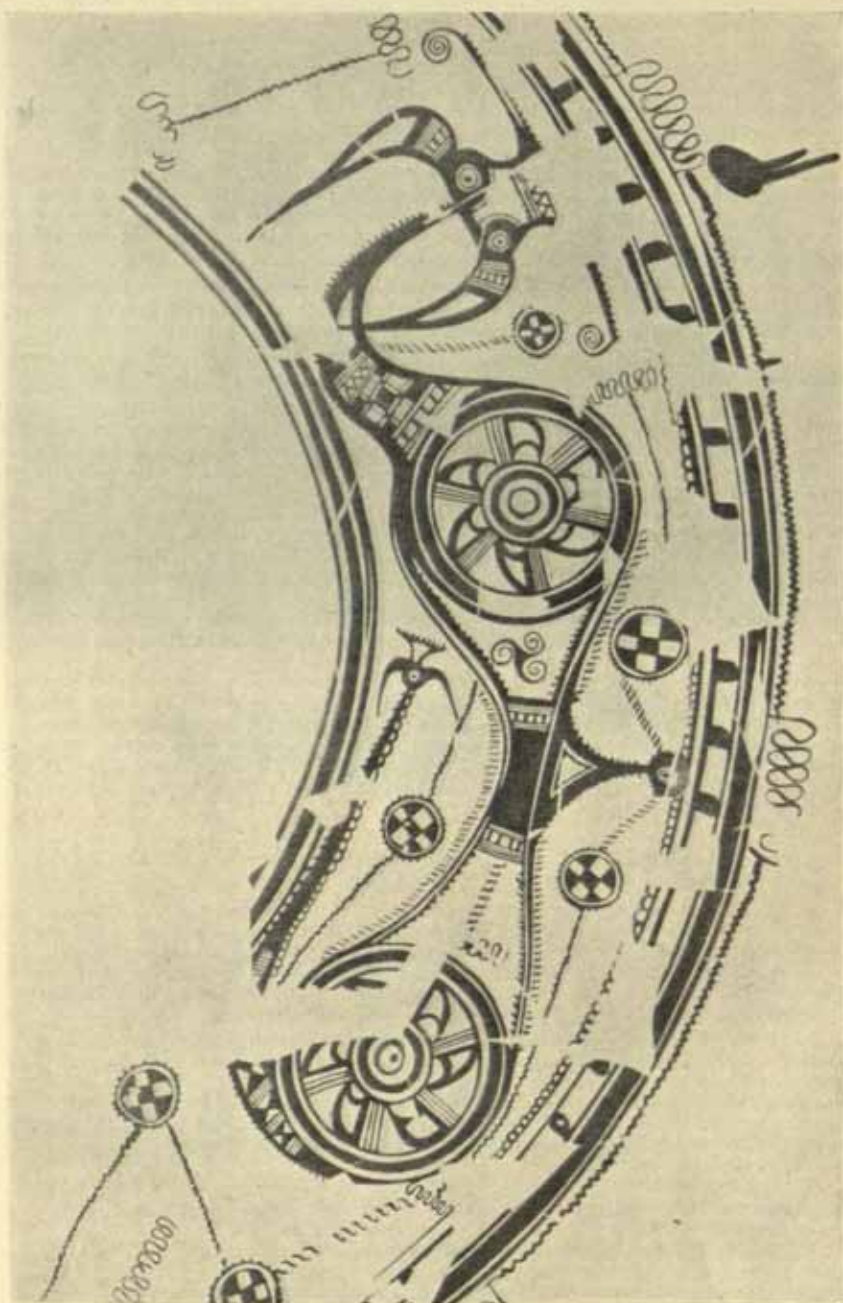


Fig. 869.



Fig. 870.



Fig. 871.



Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such *Mischwesen* had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel motif into 'Minoan' art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional 'Minoan' word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*τέρας γάμος*), which points to the presence of a non-'Minoan' factor in the population of Crete. This factor he regards as 'urägisches' and believes to have been racially connected with Asia Minor, whereas the genuine founders of the 'Minoan' civilisation were a Mediterranean folk racially akin to the Libyans.

Eva Fiesel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 270 f. comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Borie 'La mort du Minotaure' in the *École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1898 xviii. 51-63 pl. 1-2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (*mine, menrva, ariatha, hercle*), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (*bevruminel*). P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1931 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compound was the equivalent of [Ta]ῖπος Μινώϊος or a 'Chalcidian' *hydria* from Caere (*Cervetri*) [Louvre F 18, best published by A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin-Leipzig 1927 i. 13 no. 12, 175 fig. 3 pl. 26].

A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 notes the prevalence of the bull-cult throughout Iberia. *Id. ib.* ii. 262 f. pls. 24 and 25 (= my fig. 869) gives the black painted decoration of a red pottery *dolium*, which in a highly stylized geometric manner (A. del Castillo in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 138) renders a couple of bulls. *Id. ib.* ii. 257 pl. 16 (= my figs. 870 and 871) shows the designs on a polychrome jug, which represents two male dancers wearing bulls' horns on their arms and bulls' hoofs (?) on their feet. The dance may be that mentioned by Strab. 164 as celebrated by night *ἀνυβόλις τρι θεῶν*. In any case the previous existence of such a bull-cult in Spain explains in part the age-long popularity of the Spanish bull-fights. See further V. Alford *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 p. 193 f. on the Basque *Toro de Fuego* or 'Fire Bull' ('probably... a form of bull devotion, separate from, though existing side by side, with the *corrida* or bullfight').

T. L. Shear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 540 fig. 1 (J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1935 xlviii. 83 fig. 2) publishes a gold ring from a Mycenaean tomb found near the 'Theseion' at Athens: 'The scene represented on the ring is of unusual interest. On the right a man is striding to the right. He has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear, and with the other holds the end of a double cord, which is attached to the waist of the foremost of two women behind him. The women have veiled heads, high ruffs around their necks, and pleated skirts. On the extreme left is a sacred pillar, and a small object resembling a bird or butterfly appears in the background above the figures. A group consisting of a bull-headed man who is leading two captive women recalls the legend of the Minotaur and the Athenian maidens. The new discovery in Athens may illustrate an early version of the later familiar myth.' But Shear's interpretation of the scene is far from certain.

E. Sjöqvist in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 344-347 fig. 11 gives the upper part of a terra-cotta statuette from *Aija Irini* in Kypros, which portrays a priest wearing a bull's mask drawn over his head. Sjöqvist cites analogous figures and concludes: 'Es scheint daher, als ob die Tiermaskenverkleidung eine rituelle Tracht wäre, besonders mit zereemoniellen Prozessionen und Tänzen verknüpft. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die mit Sicherheit bestimmbar Priestermasken Stierköpfe sind. Die Reminiszenzen in Aija Irini von einem ursprünglichen Stiergott sind sicher noch lebendig gewesen, und der Stier war sein heiliges Tier und sein Symbol, auf gleiche Art, wie es mit Hadad in Syrien und seinem Gegenstück in Anatolien der Fall war. Indem der Priester sein Bild anlegte, ging er eine greifbare Vereinigung mit der Gottheit ein, auf gleiche Art wie Demeters Priester in Pheneos bei gewissen Kultakten die Maske der Göttin anlegte [*supra* ii. 1136 n. 4]. Der Brauch hat bereits während der Bronzezeit eine grosse Verbreitung auf Cypern und innerhalb des syro-hettitischen Kulturgebietes gehabt und scheint sporadisch auch in dem minoisch-mykenischen Kreise spürbar zu sein.'

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120-132 ('The Cult of the Bull')). It would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a bellowing bull, whose human representative, the king or priest, identified himself with the deity by donning a bull-mask or at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chanaanah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, 'made him horns of iron' (1 Kings 22. 11).

i. 497 ff. 'Minoan' Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxx. 90 f. fig. 96 illustrates a couple of *rhyta* from 'Early Minoan' ossuaries in the Messara, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers ('the earliest record of these sports'). W. Crooke 'Bull-

baiting, Bull-racing, Bull-fights' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 141—163 discusses the subject with many parallels from India, Nigeria, etc. Ella Bourne 'Ancient Bull-fights' in *Art and Archaeology* 1917 v. 142—153 cites *inter alia* fig. 9 a marble relief from Smyrna, now at Oxford, inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΪΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ Θ Β (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensia* Oxonii 1763 ii. 105 no. 58 pl. 8, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 526 no. 1. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 257 f. fig. 9, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3212) and a similar marble relief from Sardis inscribed [ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΪΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΩΝ?] ΗΜΕΡΑΣ Γ (H. C. Butler in *Sardis* i. 1. 95 fig. 96, W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson *ib.* vii. 1. 88 f. no. 82 fig. 69), with which cp. a relief found west of the theatre at Ephesos (R. Heinen in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 46 fig. 12) and an inscription from the Ephesian stage Μ[η]ρόφιλος Μηροφίλου τὸ εὐσταθὲς | καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸ ταυρασταῖς τοῖς Κρεορτοῖς (*id.* in *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1912 ii. 182 no. 75). Sir A. J. Evans 'On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 247—259 figs. 1—12. *Id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1936 Index p. 21 s.v. 'Bull-sports.' Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 24—27 (concluding with some friendly criticism of my own views).

i. 500. On the horn-bearing woman of Laussel see now M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*<sup>2</sup> Wien 1925 p. 166 fig. 2, p. 167 fig. 1, p. 601 ff., R. de Saint-Périer *L'art préhistorique (Époque palolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 29 pl. 8, 4.

i. 500. On the significance of the drinking-horn see H. Thiersch 'Kretische Hornbecher' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 78—85 figs. 30—45 (p. 83 f. 'Die Vorstellung, dass das Trinken aus solchem Horne überirdische Kräfte verleihe, ist ja nur die weitere Konsequenz des ganz allgemein verbreiteten Gedankens, dass die Kraft des Tieres auch noch in dem von ihm abgetrennten Horne weiterlebe, dass dieses darum auch zur Abwehr allerlei dämonischer Angriffe in hohem Masse geeignet sei').

i. 503 f. bull-carrying. Cp. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 49 ff. no. 12, 30 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 84, 30 ff. (an Athenian decree of 421/0 B.C.) τὸς δὲ β[ο]ύ[τ]ις ἐχέειν αὐτοῖς σ[υ]φίργου[σ]ιν ἀφαιρῆσαι πρὸς τὸν βούτ[ην] αὐτοῖς[τε] δὲ ἀφάρτας [τὸς βούτ]ις ἐφ[ε]ρος[τε] | ἡεροποι[ο]ῖ[σι] ἡαυρ[ε]σθ[ε]ν[τε] διακοσῖος ἐχ[ε]ν Ἀθε[ν]αῖον and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 10 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1028, 10 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 10 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> no. 717, 10 f. (an Athenian decree of 100/99 B.C.) ἥρατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστησίοις τοῖς βούτ[ι]ς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τῇ θυρία καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐβουθήσαν ἐν ταῖς περιβάλλουσιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς with the notes of Ziehen and Dittenberger *ad loc.* See also E. Maass s.v. βούρα in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 221 f., L. Ziehen 'Zum Opferitus' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 227—234, and F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 67 n. 30.

R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Γάνδαρος· ὁ ταυροκράτης, παρ' Ἰνδοῖν. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.

i. 506 ff. Ritual Horns. In addition to the important articles of I. Scheffelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 (*ib.* p. 473 f. 'Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit') and J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 791<sup>b</sup>—796<sup>a</sup> (p. 794<sup>b</sup> 'conventional representations of an earlier βουκράριον') consult W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 72—98 (starting from P. E. Newberry's Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert mountain (*supra* ii. 555 n. o, cp. 545 n. o), Gaerte p. 82 takes the Cretan horns to be 'die Kultsymbole der in Kreta zu jener Zeit verehrten grossen Erdgöttin, einer der kleinasiatischen *Magna Mater* und der griechischen Rhea verwandten Gestalt') and H. Sjövall 'Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen Horns of Consecration' *ib.* 1925 xxiii. 185—192 pls. 1 and 2 (Sjövall connects the Cretan horns with the 'Mondbilder' of north-European art (*supra* i. 507), which he regards as andirons). See also G. Karo in Ebert *Reallex.* v. 392 ('eine reine Schmuckform'), A. E. Napp *Bukranion und Guirlande. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* Wertheim a. M. 1933 pp. 1—49, W. Deonna 'Mobiliier délien ii ΒΩΜΟΙ ΚΕΡΑΟΤΧΟΙ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 pp. 381—447 figs. 1—53.

i. 514 bees from bulls. A. E. Shipley 'The "Bugonia" myth' in the *Journal of Philology* 1915 xxxiv. 97—105 endorses the view of C. R. Osten Sacken *On the Oxen-born bees of the Ancients* Heidelberg 1894 pp. 1—80 that the honey-bee (*apis mellifica*) was confused with the drone-fly (*eristalis tenax*), which superficially resembles the honey-bee and is often found in a stray carcase or in rotting vegetation.

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Bomos und Verwandtes'



i. 542 n. 5. See now Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 921 ff. no. 1478 pl. 246, 22 London and no. 1479 pl. 246, 23. The reverse of the latter is inscribed ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ[ΟΝ]. Babelon comments: 'La belle tête de Zeus Κρηταγῶν...est inspirée de celle du Zeus Olympie sur les statères d'Elis....'







Fig. 874.



Fig. 875.

the most important monument of the cult yet found is the idol of gilded bronze (height 0.384<sup>m</sup>) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skilfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Sursock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1920 i. 3—15 pls. 1—4 (of which 1 and 2 = my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1921 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 10 no. 5, *The Illustrated London News* for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated c. 150 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a *kallathos* (of interlaced reeds?) decked with four corn-ears and a disk between globules perhaps meant for schematized *uraci*, a long *chiton* with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennaïos (*supra* p. 888): behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams'-heads to suggest Zeus Ammon, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, *cornu copiae*). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (c. 0.073<sup>m</sup> across)—possibly a letter-box for the *codicilli* of persons consulting the god (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. 14 ff. (*supra* i. 552 f.)). See further R. Cagnat in *Syria* 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 187, 218—222 pl. 39, 1.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera* (Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii) in the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. 1—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1938 xlii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known material, including altars, *stelai*, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Ferzol (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fikl or Fakyé on the west slope of Antilibanos (pp. 87—129). Incidentally it discusses many, if not most, of the associated deities of Koile Syria. And it ends (p. 138 f.) by laying stress on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (*supra* i. 558, 569, 572, iii. 1093): 'C'est dans cet épi que se concentre finalement toute l'essence de la religion héliopolitaine sous l'empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale [*supra* i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Seimios] groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devint progressivement celle du dieu du Ciel, B'el-Samin, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l'époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Ba'albek la dénomination d'Héliopolis, et firent d'elle avec le temps le centre coelésyrien de tous les cultes solaires de l'époque romaine. Tout se résolvait pratiquement dans l'adoration de l'astre brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu'elles nous sont résumées dans l'image récemment découverte à Doura du B'el-Samin—Zadé Debs, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII)' [M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11, 1 'Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios,' p. 68 ff. pl. 13 'Painted decoration of the cella of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown);' *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Prelim. Report vii—viii. Yale Univ. Press 1939, pp. 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)].

i. 571 n. 2 leonine gods. At *Bir-Derbal* near *Ghardimaou* in Tunisia a Punico-Roman sanctuary containing a dedicatory inscription to Saturn was found; also other rustic sanctuaries of 1. ii A.D., which could boast life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes. One life-size head had the face of a lioness wearing fillets and is thought to have represented the *Genius Terrae Africae* (L. Carton 'Note sur des édicules renfermant des statues en terre cuite, découverts dans la région de Ghardimaou (Tunisie)' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1918 pp. 338—347, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 320), because a *denarius* issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in 47—46 B.C. shows Sekhet with leonine head, disk, and *ankh* accompanied by the legend Γ·Τ·Α (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 280 no. 51 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 572 no. 8 pl. 121, 4 and no. 9 (*Genius Tutelaris Africae* or *Genius Totius Africae*?)).

i. 581 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 217 B.C.) *decemviri nonum decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret*, etc. Aristoph. *av.* 1750 (*supra* p. 59).

A magnificent relief in basalt from the reign of Tiglath-pileser iii (746—727 B.C.), shows Adad, with a double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand, standing on the back and head of a bull as he advances rapidly from left to right (*L'art de la Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre* Paris 1936 v. 300 fig. A).



l. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud 'Patère de Tafas' in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—215 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patèra* of Roman date, found at *Tafas* in the *Hauran* but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at *Damaskos*. The central relief shows a



Fig. 876.

lion standing in front of a column on which is an image of Priapos. The lion rests his forepaw on a *scabellum* (?). At the left is a musician playing the double flutes; at the right, a woman with a timbrel, towards whom the lion turns his head. Dussaud thinks that the lion of Atargatis prefers the native timbrel to the foreign flutes!

l. 586 figs. 448 and 449. See further A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 204—211 fig. 40.

i. 590 fig. 450. See now *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia* etc. pp. xxxii, 28 pl. 4, 15 and 16.

N. Glueck in *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 21, 1937 p. 298 ff. publishes finds from a Nabataean temple known as *Khirbet et-Tannur* and situated on a hill in southern Transjordan, directly south of the *Wadi el-Hesa* (the 'brook Zered' of Deut. 2. 13, cp. Num. 21. 12). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11); a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ear and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15 = my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7-9); the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (fish-scales? A. B. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 5); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet et-Tannur' in the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* for October 1937 No. 67 pp. 6-16 figs. 2-8, *id.* 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannur, Transjordan' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 361-376 figs. 1-15, C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l'Hadad de Pouzzoles' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 244-249 figs. 1-4.

i. 592 n. o the sacred 'cock.' H. Gressmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hieropolis in Syrien' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* Giessen 1925 Beiheft xli. 88-95 (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 157  $\phi\alpha\iota\delta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ), and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jausen 'Le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne' in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1924 xxxiii. 574-582)).

i. 598 n. 1 Zeus at the Italian Lokroi. S. Mirone 'Copies de statues sur les monnaies de la Grande Grèce' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1926 xxix. 134-138 deals with Zeus  $\text{Ἐλευθέριος}$  at Tarentum, Metapontum, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.

i. 602 eagle on pyramidal structures at Tarsos and Seleukeia Pieria. F. Cumont 'L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apothéose des empereurs' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119-164 with figs. 1-22 and pl. 1, *id.* (citing A. H. Gardiner) 'A propos de l'aigle funéraire des Syriens' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 208-214, S. Ronzevalle 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale: Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 1912 v. 2. 1\*-62\* with 9 figs., 105\*-115\* with 4 figs., L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1-20 figs. 1-4, F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35-118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hierapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs') with figs. 9-43.

i. 602. For  $\nabla$  as the womb of a mother-goddess see the evidence collected by F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig-Berlin 1922 p. 21 f., M. Mayer 'Delta praehistoricum' in the *Berl. philol. Wch.* Jan. 19, 1929 pp. 91-94, E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 lviii. 1. 142.

i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)* Paris 1848 xvii. 161 insists 'qu'il faut certainement lire de cette manière:  $\Delta\iota\text{-}\Sigma\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ .'

604 the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui. These are now well published by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yasilkaya* Bamberg 1934 with bibliography, map, plan, 28 photographic pls., and panoramic drawing, *id.* *Die Ruinen von Bogazköy* Berlin-Leipzig 1937 pp. 1-107 with 63 figs., chronological table, and 3 plans. It appears that the great procession of Iasly Kaya may be dated between 1350 and 1330 B.C. (C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 256).

i. 604 ff. Zeus *Dolichalos* and Jupiter *Dolichenus*. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 173-202 ('Doliché et le Zeus Dolichénos') with figs. 55-70, *id.* 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénos' in *Syria* 1920 i. 183-189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Biredjik': Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed  $\text{Κερατοὶ καὶ Σαλβα[ρ]ίος}$ ), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzestatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genius of Jupiter *Dolichenus* from Marash, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (Jupiter *Dolichenus* from Berlin-Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), *id.* in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig-Erlangen 1926 ix-



xi. 15 f. figs. 116—122, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 227 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 292 (temple at the western corner of the Aventine, shrine on the Esquiline, shrine in Reg. xiv), *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 17, 1935 p. 290 (recent finds on the Aventine, including a photograph of the sanctuary, a marble statue of the god holding a double axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left, an inscription mentioning Commodus, etc.), G. I. Kazarow 'Denkmäler des Dolichenus-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. öst. arch. Inst.* 1932 xxvii. 168—173 figs. 105—108 (finds made in 1930 at Jassen near Widin (Bononia) in Bulgaria, including a triangular bronze plate with well-preserved reliefs of the god on his bull and his partner on her hind, a bronze tablet inscribed *I. O. M. Dol. | Aur. Basilius sac. | servus eius*, and the left half of another bronze tablet with the pointille inscription *I. O. [M. Dol.] | Fl. Sabin[us...]| Valeria V[...]| Tinsadno... | suo ex iusso [det]*).

i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath bull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. lxxvii, a and b.

i. 619 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480, 1914 ii. 3. 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (x. iv—iii B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull's head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chilperich I at Tournai in 1653 and stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* Berlin 1883 iii. 480 fig. 18 f., J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 3. 1308 fig. 570, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

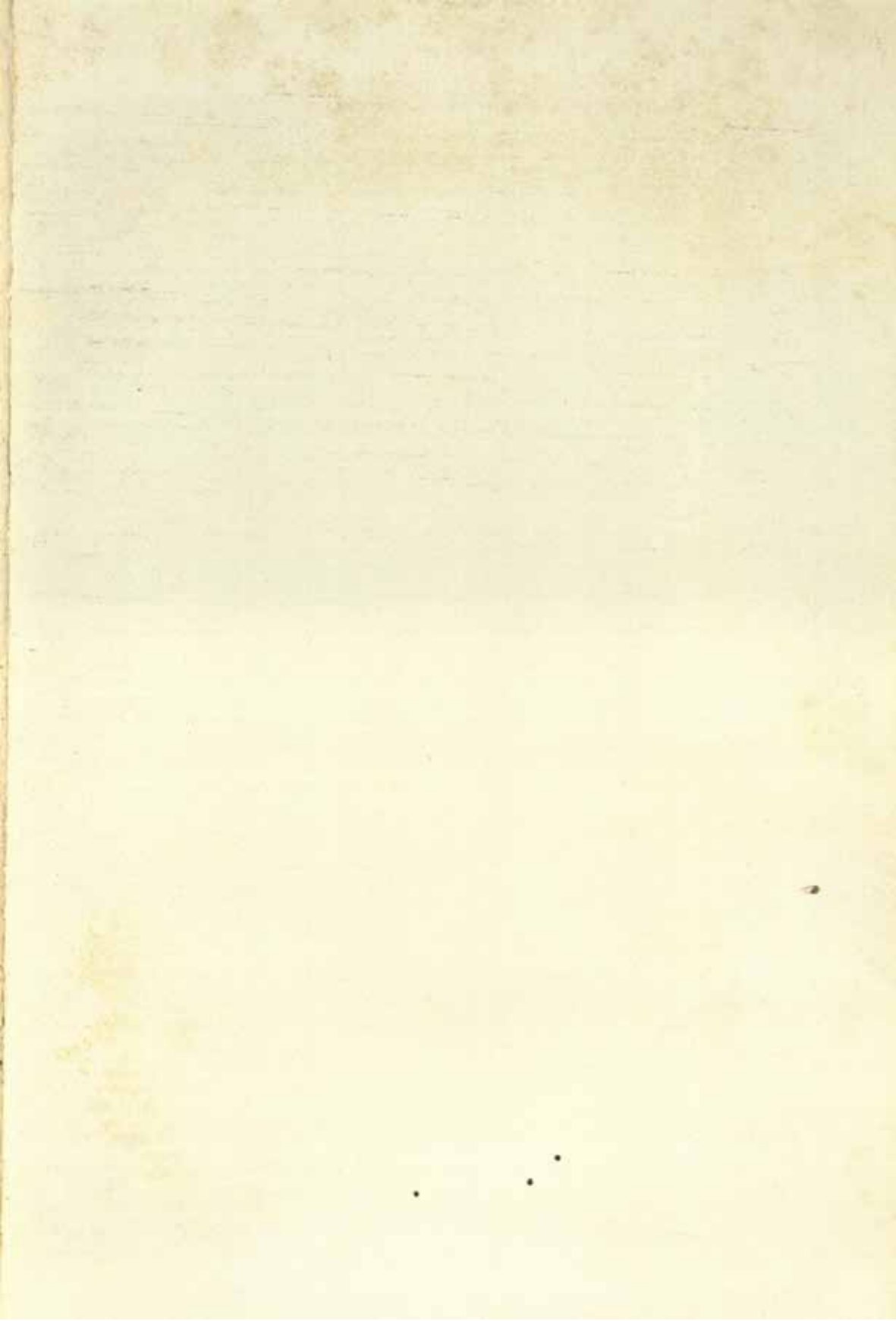
S. Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain* Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Haurān. A basalt stèle (0.875 m high) from Tell Aš'ari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Damaskos, shows a bull-headed god *en face*. His horns make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 bis, 51 and 52). An almost exact replica of this relief (0.80 m high) is to be seen in a niche at 'Awā south of Salhad (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0.88 m high) from Salhad, on which a bull's head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to Ζεύς ἡγίας ὁ κύριος (M. Dunand *Le Musée de Soueïda: Inscriptions et monuments figurés* Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 Διὶ μεγάλῳ τῷ κυρίῳ | ὑπὲρ κυρίων | Μορμου Βασιλέως Κ[ε]ρ[ε]ν[ε] | Ἄντος οὐκοδόμητος ἐπέβηκε ἐπὶ δόρυ).

i. 624 the Milky Way and Hera. So in Siberian mythology a Buriat tale explains the Milky Way as the overflow from the breasts of the Heaven-goddess Manzan Görmö (U. Holmberg *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology* Boston 1927 pp. 414, 434).

i. 625 n. 1 the stars as flowers. Cp. Basil. *hom. in hexaem.* 6. 1 (xxix. 117 C Migne) τὰς ὁ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς τοὺς διασπούσας τὸν οὐρανὸν and the remarks of A. von Humboldt *Cosmos* trans. E. C. Otte London 1849 ii. 395.

i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, metals, plants, and animals. S. Langdon in the *Museum Journal: University of Pennsylvania* 1918 ix. 151—156 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet of c. 1600 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Cassite period. W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabursildu, queen of incantations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver...because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti *Alchemistica signa* (Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs viii) Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded plates of Iupiter Dolichenus is one of *repoussé* bronze, found by E. Cunningham in 1882 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877, a front, b back, from the official photographs). It represents Minerva standing *en face* with helmet, spear, Gorgon's head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1935 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of Dolichenus (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.







a

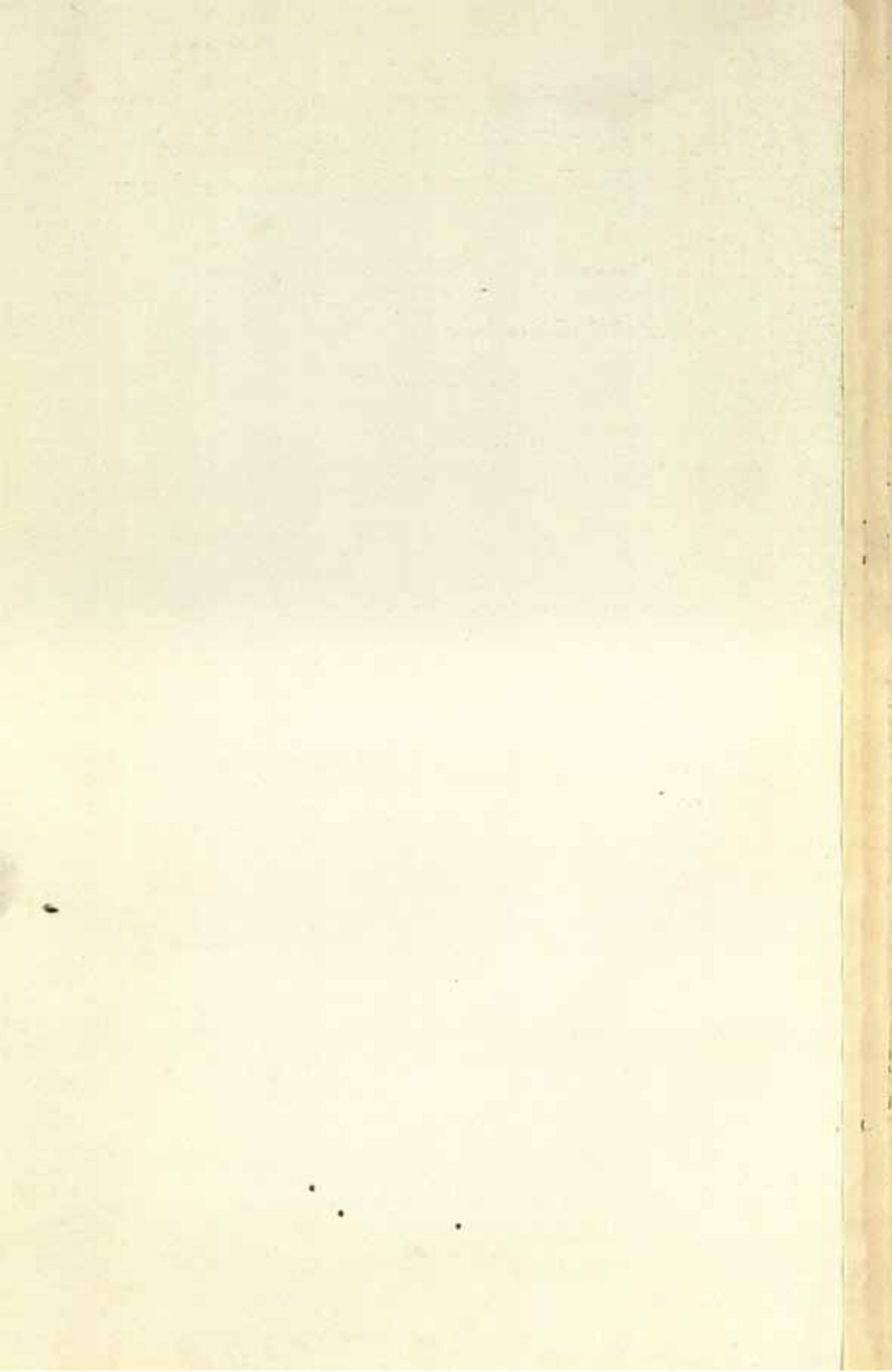


b

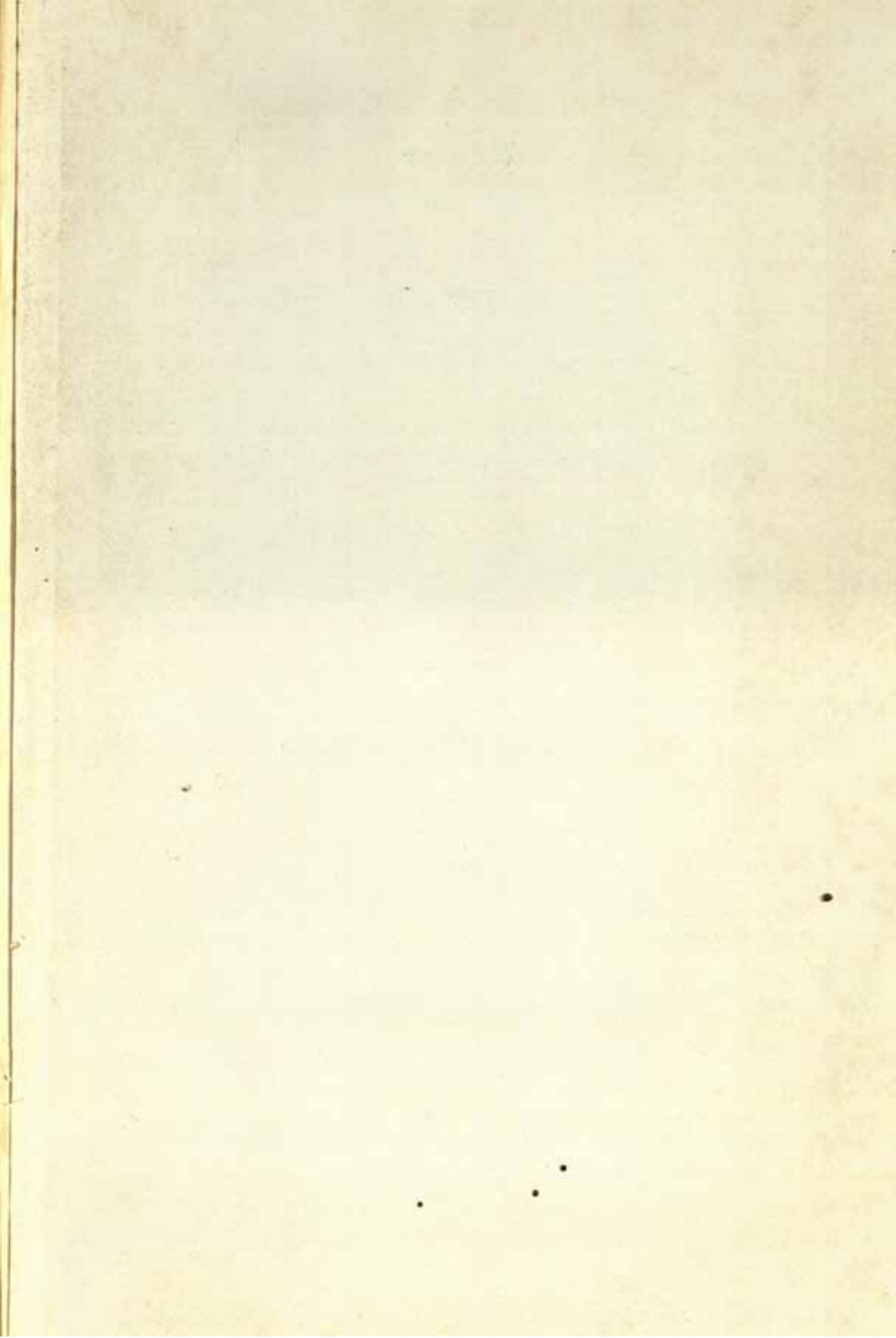
Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, possibly connected with the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (?).

I am indebted to Mr C. M. Robertson for the following official description: '1907. 5—20. 69 Terracotta eagle with wreath in beak standing on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a terracotta column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together, though both are no doubt antique. They were acquired among a large collection formed at Odessa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.'

See page 1098.









A bronze mace from Willingham Fen,  
now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

*See page 1099 f.*



Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 270 ff. pls. 33, 34, 2, 37, 38, 2. Miss M. V. Taylor in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1935 xxv. 220 f. pls. 40 and 41, 1. *ead. ib.* 1937 xxvii. 242 f.), contributed something to the popular etymology of *Maiden* (properly *Mai-Dun*) Castle. The temple itself may have been that of *Dolichenus*, a Celtic form of whom is suggested by a votive offering found in 1934 just outside the south-east corner of the building, *viz.* a three-horned bull (*supra* i. 639) made of tinned bronze and bearing a triad of busts, one *minus* its head (R. E. M. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 272 pl. 39 (=my fig. 878), Miss M. V. Taylor *loc. cit.* p. 220 pl. 41, 2).

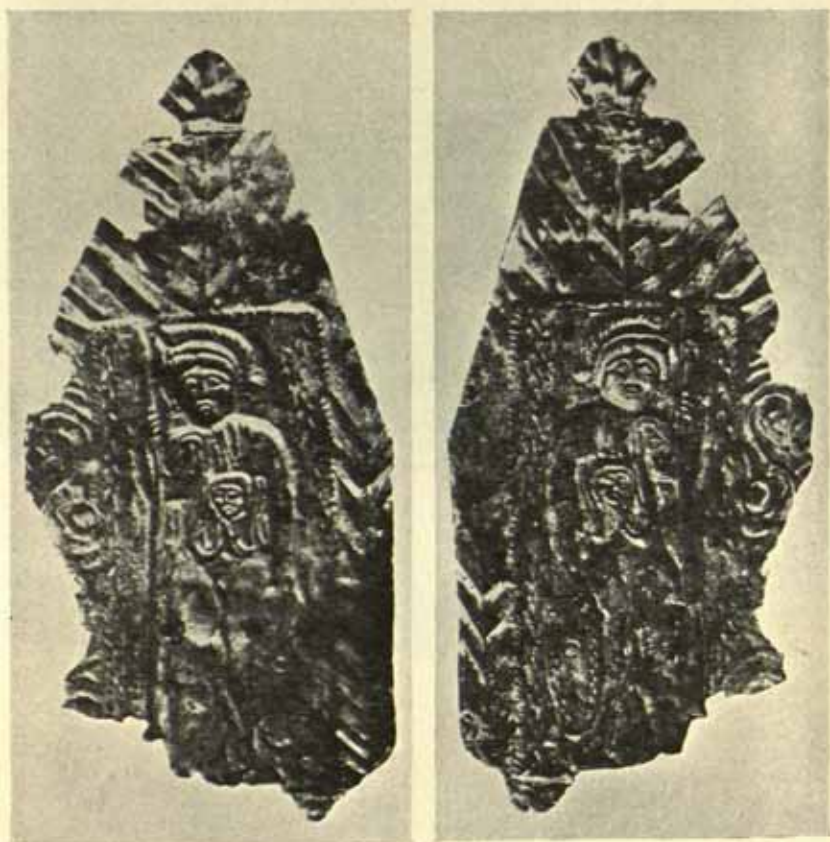


Fig. 877.

Another power associated with *Dolichenus* in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Willingham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtseff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 925 f., *id.* in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 ff. pl. 4, b). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of *damnatio memoriae* after Commodus' assassination in 192 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure c. 0.345<sup>m</sup> in height and had once a

wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. lxxviii): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the *paludamentum*, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (*supra* ii. 255 n. o, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Jupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*supra* i. 276 n. 5



Fig. 878.

fig. 202, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Jupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Jupiter-columns, who tramples his giant under foot (*supra* ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god (? *Dis pater*). But F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2281 f., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos *Trigaranus* (*supra* i. 482 n. o), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

i. 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 118 *Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc.* But a closer parallel is furnished by the *Kalevala* runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Väinämöinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, | And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—



- Ukko, God of realms supernal,  
 40 Rubbed his mighty hands together.  
 Both his hands he rubbed together,  
 On his left knee then he pressed them,  
 And three maidens were created,  
 Three fair Daughters of Creation,  
 Mothers of the rust of Iron,  
 And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.  
 Strolled the maids with faltering footsteps  
 On the borders of the cloudlets,  
 And their full breasts were o'erflowing,  
 50 And their nipples pained them sorely.  
 Down on earth their milk ran over,  
 From their breasts' o'erflowing fulness,  
 Milk on land, and milk on marshes,  
 Milk upon the peaceful waters.  
 Black milk from the first was flowing,  
 From the eldest of the maidens,  
 White milk issued from another,  
 From the second of the maidens,  
 Red milk by the third was yielded,  
 60 By the youngest of the maidens.  
 Where the black milk had been dropping,  
 There was found the softest Iron,  
 Where the white milk had been flowing,  
 There the hardest steel was fashioned,  
 Where the red milk had been trickling,  
 There was undeveloped Iron.

i. 631 n. 8. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 315 notes: 'Αλῶνη, or rather Αλῶνη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys," just as Αρῶνη corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizonians are the Khalitu of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusas II. (B.C. 680),...who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu." The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it.' Cp. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 169 n. 2. More hazardous conjectures in J. Karst *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker* Heidelberg 1931 pp. 71 f., 254, 348.

i. 632 n. 5. Add *Int. Obs.* 39 (Lycosthenes) mures in aede Iovis aurum roserunt.

i. 633 ff. The monograph of L. Malten 'Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 90—139 has a useful collection of evidence from Egypt (pp. 92—98 figs. 1—11), Mesopotamia (pp. 98—107 figs. 12—27), Asia Minor (pp. 107—114 figs. 28—41), Syria (pp. 114—117 figs. 42—51), Palestine (pp. 117—119 figs. 52—54), Phoinike (p. 120 fig. 55), Crete (pp. 121—137 figs. 56—89), a brief notice of survivals in classical cults and myths (p. 137 f.), and some consideration of the Bull's significance from first to last (p. 138 f.).

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1923 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, a: 'U 239 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor cows of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty.' Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated c. 2200 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli *Museo Odescalchi* Romæ 1752 ii. 99 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☾, and above him the inscription BVE API. *Id. ib.* ii. 122 pl. 53 shows a similar (other surface of same) base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found along with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta*

Oxford 1930 p. 48 ff. pls. 15, 1, 16 and figs. 3—10, G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 366).

i. 638 f. H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of c. 3000 B.C., which was found at Khafaje, Iraq. It is a bull's head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

i. 639 n. 2 the Celtic cult of bulls. See now an important paper by A. D. Lacaille 'The Bull in Scottish Folklore, Place-names, and Archaeology' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 221—248 pls. 3—8, F. M. Heichelheim s.v. 'Taurus Trigaranus' in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2453—2457, Wirth s.v. 'Stier' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 viii. 482—486.

i. 639 n. 4. Cp. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xlii. 4.

i. 642 n. 4. On Zeus as 'tyrant' in Aisch. *P. v.* see G. Thomson 'Zeús Tóparrvos' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 3—5.

i. 643 Mount Tabor. See further J. Boehmer 'Der Name Tabor' in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 1929 vii. 161—169, O. Eissfeldt in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 25 n. 3.

i. 643. *Soph. frag.* 348 Dindorf (assigned to the *Λημνιάς*), 708 Nauck<sup>2</sup>, 776 Jebb *ap. schol. vet. Theokr.* 7. 76/77 d. and *ap. et. mag.* p. 26, 16 ff. 'Ἀθως ἐκείναι τὰ Λημνιάς βοῦς (so, without Sophokles' name, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. *lex.* s.v. 'Ἀθως, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 980, 45 f. Schol. B. L. V. *Il.* 14. 229 ὦτα for τῶτα!) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as 'Ἀθως καλῶτερον πλεονά Λημνιάς βοῦς (Greg. Kypr. 1. 73, *alii*. A Latin form of it perhaps in Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 25 'cornu <τ> a taurum umbram iaci', which O. Ribbeck *Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 311 would restore as '<Ἀτῶς> in cornuātum taurum umbrām iacit'). Pseudoepigraphers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Athos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. 1. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 25 Walz, Soud. s.v. 'Ἀθως). Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 22 and *et. mag.* p. 26, 17 f. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the marketplace of Myrina (Ap. Rhod. 1. 601 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 73, Solin. 11. 33, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 f. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cattle of Mt Atabyron. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantion, known as ὁ Βοῦς and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhammer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 25 D—26 A (p. 46 Bekker)=Anonymos *πάραια* 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Preger) *περὶ τοῦ Βοῦς. εἰς δὲ τὸν καλοῦμενον Βοῦν κάμινος ἦν ἐκείσε παμμεγέθης ἐκτισμένη βοῦς ἔχουσα κεφαλὴν. ἐνθα καὶ οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐτιμωροῦντο. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς προφάσει τῶν καταδικῶν πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατέκαυσεν Χριστιανοὺς. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος βοῦς τύπος παμμεγεστάτου θεάματος. οὐ κατὰ μίμησιν καὶ ἐν τῷ Νεωρίῳ βοῦς ἀπετυπώθη. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος ἔως Φωκᾶ (602—610 A.D.), ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου (610—641 A.D.) ἐχωνεύθη λόγῳ φάλλων. This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pergamon, where it had been used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 B (i. 566 Bekker) *ὅτι ὁ χαλκοῦς βοῦς ἐκ Περγάμου ἦλθε, κάμινος δὲ ἦν ἐν ᾗ πέφλεκται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυρ Ἀντίπας*, Zonar. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 ff. Dindorf) *τὸ δὲ δόστρον σῶμα (sc. of Phokas) καυθῆναι κατὰ τὸν Βοῦν, ἐνθα κάμινος ἦν, ὡς λέγεται, ἐκ χαλκοῦ κατεσκευασμένη, σχῆμα βοῦς ἔχουσα, ἥπερ ἐκ Περγάμου κεκόμιστο, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὸπος ὠνόμαστο*). A. G. Sofiano *Pergame Moderne et Antique Athènes* 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipas being burnt in the copper bull, and *ib.* p. 112 observes: 'Ce bœuf avait été élevé par Attale I<sup>er</sup> en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses exécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iv. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Pelagia (May 4), x. 319 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Agapius, Theopistus (Sept. 20). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the *Ecclesiae militantis triumphus* Paris s.a. pl. 9.*

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by mediaeval imagination, may be detected in *Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal* trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 214 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 '...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the bull of copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle



upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...' with the sequel.

i. 645 n. 4 on the 'shields' of the Idaean Cave see also F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 211 ff.

i. 648 Orphism in Crete. Cp. O. Kern 'Orphiker auf Kreta' in *Hermes* 1916 li. 554-567 and the satisfactory handling of the whole matter by W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 pp. 108 ff., 146 f.

i. 650 n. 1 the *βόμβος* or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopravvivenze del rombo nelle Provincie Venete' in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1925 i. 3. 190-217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΥΓΕ, ΠΟΜΒΟΣ, RHOMBUS, TURBO' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1-13 with figs. 1-11.

i. 651 n. 1 *Zagreus* as the god 'of Mt *Zágrus*.' The same derivation is propounded independently by F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 721 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praisians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukian. *Sup. trag.* 42 'Ἀσπίριοι περιστέρεῖ (sc. *θύοντες*).

i. 655 on the etymology of *Titán*. A. Nehring 'Griechisch τίταξ, τίτηνη und ein vorgriechisches *k*-Suffix' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 153-192 discussing *inter alia* the word *Tírān*, *Tírēn* (p. 167 ff.) postulates an original *Tírān* as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Väterchen,' cp. τίταξ, τίτηνη (Hesych. s.v. τίταξ cited *supra* i. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 *Minos* *δολοφύων*. K. Marót 'Ἄτλας δολοφύων' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 22, 1926 pp. 585-590 concludes 'dass sich das Epitheton des Atlas δολοφύων nicht auf eine moralische Schuld, sondern bloss auf die Boshaftigkeit eines "Täters," d. h. auf ein mythisch-vorethisches "Verderbensinnen" beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 *pro tumulo extruit templum* and *factus est qui habere non potuit sepulcrum* by translating 'he built a temple in place of a tomb' and 'has made a god out of one who was not able to find burial.'

i. 664 n. 1 on Epimenides *ἐπὶ Μῶν καὶ Παδαμάνθους*. Further discussion by H. Gressmann in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 26, 1913 pp. 935-938, J. Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1915 pp. 29-35, T. Nicklin in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 33-37, Sir W. M. Ramsay *Attic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 32-39.

i. 665 ff. on the origin of tragedy. My hypothesis is dismissed with little argument but much contumely by K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1952 f. Greater weight attaches to the courteous and clear-headed critique of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 208-220—in a context neatly summarised by Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 229: 'Bei der Behandlung der Tragödie schätzt er (m. E. mit Recht) gegen v. Wilamowitz und Kranz das Zeugnis des Aristoteles sehr gering ein und verwirft die Hypothesen von der Entstehung der Tragödie, die Ridgeway (aus dem Heroenkult), Murray (aus *δρώμενα* zu Ehren des Dionysos) und Cook (aus dem kretischen Ritual der Dionysos-Zagreus) aufgestellt haben, und ist selbst der Ansicht, dass die Tragödie nicht aus dem Satyrspiel stammt, dass τραγῳδοί "singer at the goat-sacrifice" oder "singer for the goat-prize" bedeutet. Bei Behandlung der Komödie wird der κῶμος, aus dem sie entstand, ausführlich besprochen und Cornfords Hypothese (Entstehung aus einem Ritual, das dem Jahresdämon galt) widerlegt.'

i. 671 pillar with Dionysiac mask or masks. See now W. Wrede 'Der Maskengott' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1928 liii. 66-95 with pls. 1-4, supplementary pls. 21-28, and figs. 1-4 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 554 f.).

An oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 243) *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* i. 24 p. 102, 11 f. Stählin has *εὐλόος* *Θηβαίοις* *Διώνσος* *πολυγῆνης*, cp. Eur. *Antiope frag.* 303 Nauck<sup>2</sup> *ap. Clem. Al. loc. cit.* p. 102, 13 ff. Stählin *ἐνδον* *δὲ* *θαλάμοις* *βουκόλων* | *κομῶντα* *κισσῶ* *εὐλόον* *Εἰδίου* *θεοῦ*.

i. 674. Apollodoros of Athens no doubt lived in 'The second century B.C.' and wrote his great work *περὶ θεῶν* in 24 books (R. Münzel *De Apollodori περὶ θεῶν libri* Bonnæ 1883 pp. 1-35, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1920 ii. 1. 395 f.). But the extant *βιβλιοθήκη*, long attributed to him, is now believed to be a work of Hadrianic date based on a handbook of mythology compiled between 100 and 55 B.C. (C. Robert *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* Berolini 1873 pp. 1-91, E. Schwartz in

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2875 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*<sup>2</sup> Cambridge 1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* New York i p. ix ff.).

i. 675 the caldron of divination in the cult of Leukothea. See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 42 f.

i. 675 Dionysos done to death as a kid by worshippers who took the name of 'kids'? An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the *Bukkevisse* described by B. S. Phillpotts *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* Cambridge 1920 p. 125 f.: 'The performers are three boys, two of whom personate "father and son," while the third is dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the "father and son" is corrupt, but it recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by appropriate action on the part of the third performer. The Norwegian verses appear to retain a memory of the partition of the goat-skin: "how much wilt thou give for the goat its skin?—wool?" We have here another case of the actual performances of a slaying and resurrection, with the additional primitive feature of a beast-skin disguise shed by the victim and at one time apparently allotted to one of the persons present.' Cp. E. K. Chambers *The English Folk-play* Oxford 1933 p. 211: 'Perhaps, therefore, we may go a step further, and guess at the existence... of some original European *Indus*, with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as animals for its performers.'

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at *Kaleh* near Temenothyrai 'ein marmornes, dem *Zeús Galaktios* geweihtes Altärchen' and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 514. See also J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* Manchester 1923 p. 260 no. 8, E. Fehrle in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* vi. 615.

i. 677 n. 4 the Lupercalia. See further G. F. Unger 'Die Lupercalien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 30—86, W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 pp. 72—155 ('Die Lupercalien'), J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398—1401 s.v. 'Lupercalia, Lupercal, Luperci', E. Lefébure 'Le bouc des Lupercalia' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lix. 73—81, W. F. Otto 'Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien' in *Philologus* 1913 N.F. xxvi. 161—195, Alberta Mildred Franklin *The Lupercalia* New York: Columbia University 1921 pp. 1—106, A. Marbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1815 f. s.v. 'Lupercal', 1816—1830 s.v. 'Lupercalia', 1830—1834 s.v. 'Luperci', 1834—1839 s.v. 'Lupercus', F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 206—217.

No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 'Sacrifice des Lupercules', a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévêque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 132 adds 'the *Basarids* of Aeschylus which told of the dismemberment of Orpheus.'

A doublet of the myth of Pelias may perhaps be seen in that of Minos done to death in a hot bath at Kamikos by Kokalos or his daughters (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 360, Poland in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 1918 f.).

i. 681 n. 4 *Διθόραυτος*. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson 'Die altindischen Wörter auf -amba' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1924 xxxiv. 222—249.

Zacher 'Die Ursprünge und der Name des Iambus' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1904 lxxxii Abteilung iv. 3 f. hit upon a derivation of *Διθόραυτος* near akin to mine: 'Endlich müsste *Διθόραυτος* sein = *ὁ διθωράων*, d. h. wohl den *Διθωρος* besingend. *Διθωρος* könnte eine Nebenform von *Διθωρος* sein, und wie dieses bedeuten "Sohn des Zeus" (*θωρος* von *θωρεῖν*? *θώρος* die Zeugungsrute?).' This acute conjecture is too summarily dismissed by Boisacq *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 188.

W. M. Calder 'The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect *Διθόραυτος* with two Phrygian words or loan-words *διθρεπα* and *διθρεφα*. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyriaion (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 121 f. no. 67 = J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 132 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 188 ff. no. 49 = J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 135 no. 49). It is claimed that 'διθρεπα must be a noun, and διθρεφα must be either a noun or an adjective... meaning "monument" or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (*δι + θρεπα* = *dhvara*, *thopa*, *fores*) of the Phrygian family-tomb 'symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.' On this showing *Διθόραυτος* means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the *θηρῶν ἐξάρχων* of *Il.* 24. 721 as the counterpart of *τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθόραυτον* in Aristot. *poet.* 4 1449a 11.



Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation διθύραμβος = Διονύσου γένεσις (*supra* i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funeral character of the Attic *Pevsia* (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1131, *id.* *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*<sup>3</sup> München 1920 p. 227 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1921) 'that the Dithyramb celebrated the γένεσις of Dionysos, his grave-ritual... The Early Christians celebrated the γένεσις or γενέθλια, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly born—"born again"?'

Calder returns to the charge in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaukos Rhég. frag. 4 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 24 Müller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de musica* 10 ἡρωικῶν γὰρ ὁποῖσιν σπαράγματα (for πράγματα codd.) ἔχουσιν κ.τ.λ. 'For such was the theme of the dithyramb (διασπασμὸν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν) according to Plutarch *de Ei apud Delphos* 389 A.'

W. Brandenstein in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret λαμβοί, θραμβοί, διθύραμβοί as 'Zweischritt, Dreischritt, Vierschritt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. no. 1604 one (O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 5 f. frag. 70<sup>a</sup>) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 frag. 70<sup>b</sup>) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 f. frag. 70<sup>c</sup>) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.

Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 5 Διογενῆ, διγόνων, διθύραμβογενῆ, Διόνυσον, *id.* 19 Σεμελη-γενέτη, Σεμελῆα.

i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 1 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haloia and cites modern usage in Herzegovina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriss eines erigierten Phallos mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers wurde früher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt' (\*Vgl. R. N. Salaman, *Man* 30, 1930, 48)).

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the Basilinna is both represented (figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16) and parodied (fig. 6, cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choenkännchen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choentage' (Anthesterion 12). But the argument is insecure, for—as Deubner himself admits (*Attische Feste* p. 97)—'Nicht alle Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choenform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 300—400 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choenfest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the *Choes*.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 790 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der B[aum], der aus der Erde hervorsprosst, und besonders der aus den Gräbern Verstorbener hervorstwachsende B[aum] soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios slain by the Neleid Melanthes with the aid of Dionysos *Melinaigis*. A doublet in Plout. *quaest. Gr.* 13 ἐκ δὲ τούτου μετομαχοῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰναχίων Ἰπέρροχον ὁ τῶν Αἰνιάνων Φημοὶ ὄρων μετὰ κινδὺν αὐτῷ προσφερόμενον οὐκ ἐφη δίκαια ποιεῖν, δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον ἀπελαύνοντες δὲ τοῦ Ἰπέρροχον τὸν κῆνα καὶ μεταστρεφόμενον, λῆψιν βαλὼν ὁ Φημοὶ αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ. κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν, τοὺς Ἰναχίους μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λῆθον ἐκείνου ὡς ἱερὸν σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῷ δημῷ περικαλύπτουσιν. W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthes and the Origin of Tragedy' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. *loc. cit.* thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

i. 694. A. J. B. Wace 'More Mumming Plays' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 248—265 figs. 1—6 concludes 'That the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known to almost all the other South Balkan races.'

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. in *Isid. orig.* 8. 7. 6 Hos

Hyginus (*eginus* cod.) primum frusta[m] hircinae carnis praemium accepisse dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latini hircum vocant.

i. 697 n. 4. P. Kretschmer comments on Σάτυροι again in *Glotta* 1915 vi. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σάτυροι Σάτυροι Τίτρος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 1-47 connects the word with \*silāt, *silus*, a by-form of σῆλος, 'snub-nosed.'

i. 698 n. 1. No. (10) is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: see Miss M. H. Swindler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1915 xix. 412 ff. figs. 8 and 9, L. D. Caskey *ib.* 1918 xxii. 110 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 130 f. fig. 81 (the 'Penthesilea Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 339 no. 10, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 52. Add no. (16) Red-figured *khlis* in the Museo Villa Giulia at Rome (E. Boehringer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 166 with fig. 29) = nude human figure with goatish head, horns, and tail dancing before Persephone, whose head emerges from the ground.

In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, e.g. on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka *Musée Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 23 (F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italiote bell-krater at Lecce published by Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerer* ii. 106 pl. 80, 3 (F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 106 fig. 144, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1044 fig. 6069). Yet A. Hartmann certainly goes too far when he says at the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyros' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 53: 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bocksartige Bildung von Satyrn erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentypus ist.'

i. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΡΣΤΟΣ (*sic*), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympos—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaïos' satyr-play 'Ηφαίστος' (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 750 f. Nauck<sup>2</sup>) (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 79 ff. no. 136 pl. 23).

i. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52, a, *id.* *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* Oxford 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 A). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (*id.* *Scripta Minoa* i. 123 fig. 58, c, *Palace of Minos* i. 69 fig. 38 B, c). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoan i' period (3400-2800 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 227 and no. 230) with the hoofs, horns, and tail of a bison. *Id. ib.* ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal on which a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidu the companion of Gilgamesh. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1928, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (*supra* p. 845 n. 3). See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

i. 705. R. C. Flickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyr Drama' in *Class. Philol.* 1913 viii. 261-283 (especially pp. 269-272) discusses the derivation of τραγῳδία, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. *Id.* *The Greek Theater and its Drama* Chicago 1918 pp. 13-15, *ib.* 1936 pp. 13-15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrup *Attic Tragedy in the light of Theatrical History* trans. I. Andersen Kjøbenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 64 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the τραγοὶ were young men who had undergone puberty-rites and were known by an animal name—the χοροὶ ταυδῶν, χοροὶ τραγῳδῶν, and χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 149-166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, reverts to the view that τραγῳδῆς may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' 'The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

i. 706 Zeus Aetér. W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from *Euyuk* in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 a, 3 τροκασσεκμορ), of which



he says: 'it can hardly be doubted that *terkos* is the "Hittite" *terku* meaning "god" or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following letters. Whether we read *Asie kmor...* or *Asi kmor...*, we appear to be dealing with the dative of the divine name *Asis*, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean.... Ramsay is probably right in taking **ACEIC** [*supra* i. 706 fig. 521] as a non-Phrygian name; if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, *Asis* is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs.... The name *Ἀσιωκώμη* expresses the proprietorship of the god *Asis* in a village on his estate, just as the village-name *Ἀριωχωρίαν* in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to *Atys*. In the Lydian genealogies *Asies* figures as the nephew or as the brother of *Atys* [E. Meyer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1579 f., 2262]. The name *Atios* occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Tyana [J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 127 no. 19 a, 3 *ατιοι*, 5 *ατιοι*].... The name is written with the symbol *+*, which suggests that the names *Attis* and *Asis* were originally identical.' Not impossible, then (cp. *supra* ii. 293), Zeus **ACEIC** meant *ab origine* 'Father' Zeus, while *Ἀσία* was the 'Fatherland.'

i. 707 n. 2 with fig. 524. This red-figured *hydria* from Girgenti is attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (c. 480 B.C.) and perhaps shows Zeus bringing the infant *Dionysos* to the Nymphs. To the bibliography add J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 357—372 pl. 9, Reinach *Rep. Vases* i. 237, 1 and ii. 260, 1, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (Winckelmannsfest-Prgr. Halle 1885) p. 181, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 47, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 66 no. 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23.

i. 708 ff. E. Fiechter—R. Herbig *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen* Stuttgart 1935 ii (Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus), 36 pls. 9—16 accept my interpretation of the reliefs from the stage of *Phaidros*, but regard my restorations as 'keineswegs immer glücklich.'

i. 709 n. 1 no distinctive art-type for *Hestia*. Yet see Porph. *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 3. 11. 7 = *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 94 p. 139, 2 ff. *Wünsch* *καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς θείας ἐνδράμους ἑστία κέκληται, τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ' ἑστίας ἱδρύται· καθ' ὃ δὲ γόνιμος ἢ δόναται, σημαίνεισαν αὐτῇ γυναικὸς εἶδει προμαστόν.*

i. 710 Aigeira. This town possessed a notable sanctuary of Zeus with a seated image of the god wrought in Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens (Paus. 7. 26. 4). Local coins issued by Septimius Severus and Plautilla show Zeus seated on a high-backed throne in the attitude of Zeus *Olympios* with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 17 no. 5 pl. 4, 10 Plautilla (my fig. 879 is from a cast), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 90 pl. S, 6 Plautilla, *Head Hist. num.* 2 p. 412). Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 figs. 1—9 pls. 1 (= my fig. 880) and 2 published the large head (height 0.87m) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was eked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. *Id.* 'Der Arm der Zeusstatue von Eukleides' *ib.* 1932 xxvii. 146—152 figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of *Flowoka* in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 figs. 1—26 and 'Versuchsgrabung in Aigeira' *ib.* 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 223—234 figs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large podium at the west end of the *cella* bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and



Fig. 879.

replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated c. 200 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' *ib.* 1922 xxi-xxii. 120-122), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. v. 220).

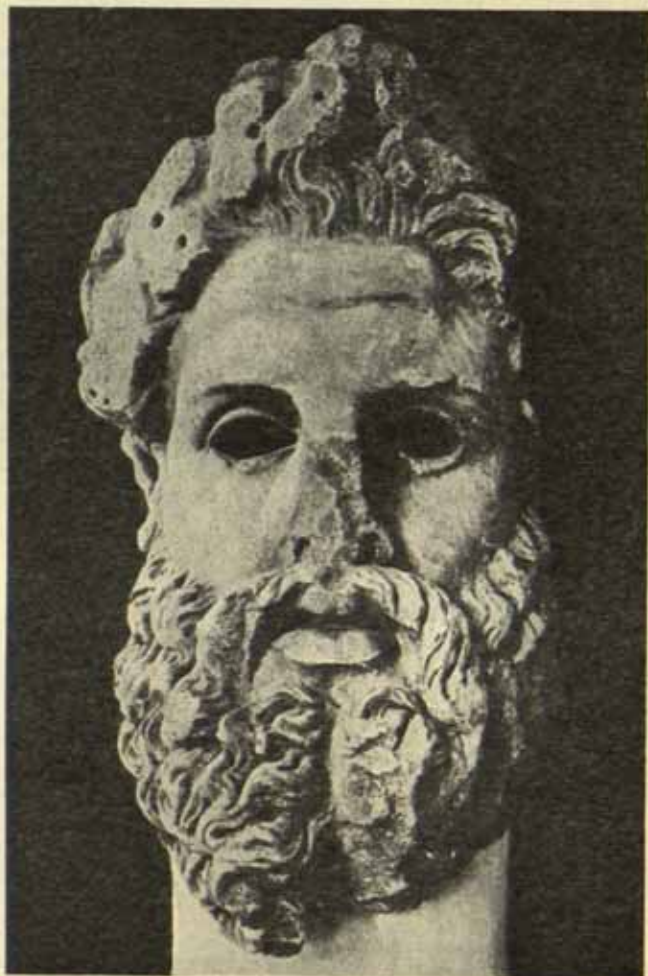


Fig. 880.

i. 710 Eros with crossed legs. On this attitude see W. Deonna 'Croiser les jambes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 344-352, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 302 f.

i. 710 Theseus. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 18 f. pl. 7, 2 takes this figure to be Nero (cp. E. Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327 n. 2). In any case see Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 3078 pl. 200.



i. 711 Vediovis. See farther L. Preller 'Studien zur römischen Mythologie.' 2. Vejovis und Dijovis' in the *Ber. wächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1855 pp. 202—215. J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 669 f. s.v. 'Veiovis,' A. L. Frothingham 'Vediovis, the Volcanic God: a Reconstruction' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 370—391, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 174—176 s.v. 'Veiovis,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 262 f., 352.



Fig. 881.

i. 713. A figure-oinochōe (Pfaul Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. i. 408 f.) in my collection shows the infant Dionysos, with a *kantharos* in his right hand, mounted on a vigorous goat (fig. 881). The vase, which was polychrome, has traces of pink (flesh), red (cloak), yellow (hair, *kantharos*), and blue (wreath) on a white ground. Height, exclusive of the handle which is in part restored, 5½ ins.

i. 713 n. o. On the cult-statue of Apollon see a mutilated relief from the Amyklaion published by B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 24—31 fig. 2, also E. R. Fiechter 'der Amykläische Thron, Bericht über die Untersuchungen im Amyklaion 1907' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. pp. 66—70, id. 'Amykläe.

Der Thron des Apollon' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 107—245 figs. 1—90 pls. 4—20, P. Bersakes 'Ο θρόνος τοῦ Ἀμφικλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος' in the *Arch. Ἐφ.* 1912 pp. 183—192 figs. 1—26, W. Klein 'Zum Thron des Apollo von Amyklai' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 6—13, E. Buschor—W. von Massow 'Vom Amyklaion' in the *Atk. Mitth.* 1927 lii. 1—85 (especially p. 19) figs. 1—40 pls. 1—23 supplementary pls. 1—12.

i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 11 πρῶτον μὲν θύοντο τῷ Διὶ ταύροι πάγκαλοι εἰς τέρραρας καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο. Also the Ταυροφόνια at Mylasa (*supra* ii. 582 n. 5, iii. 570). See, however, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 12. 120 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Aeneas, quam mox fuerat relicturus, contra morem Iovi de tauro sacrificavit (*Aen.* 3. 20 f.), Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 28 iuvenius dictus eo quod iuvare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda (*supra* p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovi semper ubique iuvenius immolabatur et nunquam taurus. nam in victimis etiam aetas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. in Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 84 Ioui Cretenses capram immolabant.

i. 720 the golden hound of Crete. An Attic black-figured *skyphos* found at Kameiros and now in the Louvre (A 478) (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* i. 171, *id.* *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 20 pl. 17) is interpreted by L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 638 ff. as illustrating the discovery by Iris and Hermes of the golden hound in the house of Pandareos—an interpretation now commonly accepted (H. N. Fowler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 304, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 n. \*\*, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 328).

i. 723 the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolf in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth ('eine ansprechende Vermutung'), but regards both myth and method as 'ziemlich jung.' S. Casson *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* Oxford 1933 is more precise: 'One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the *cire perdue* process' (cp. L. R. Farnell *supra* ii. 644 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his *Die antiken Grossbronzen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 91—102 ('Der antike Wachserguss') cites the pottery mould for an axe to be cast by the *cire perdue* process, which was found in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, viii a, viii b). Again, Kluge 'Die Gestaltung des Erzes in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.) says (p. 6): 'Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagen—es sei an die Güsse von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachsergusses beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Könnens verfolgen....' Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* Oct. 8, 1932 p. 528 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process c. 3000 B.C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. 1, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 1924 xxi. 26 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Ungnad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 no. 103 ('un quarru reçoit 2/3 de mine de cire pour la fabrication d'une clé en métal; c'est le procédé de la cire perdue'). For modern *cire perdue* casting see A. Toft *Modelling and Sculpture* London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni 'Le antichità protosarde di Santa Vittoria' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana* 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 352 ff.), T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 22, 1920 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2488, J. Whatmough *The Foundations of Roman Italy* London 1937 p. 373 ('Of especial interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation" ...').

i. 725 Talos, nephew of Daïdalos, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—5 pl. 25, A, B publishes a magnificent gold bulla of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art



Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ) and Ikaros (ΙΚΑΡΟΣ), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel *loc. cit.* pp. 195–197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Etruria, probably in the fifth century B.C. *Taitle* and *Vikare* are correct Etruscan forms of Δαίδαλος and Ίκαρος, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix -as—pre-Greek or Aegean. A cornelian scarab, from the Hamilton collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, *Taitle* (?), as a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 67 no. 329 pl. II, *ib.* p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornelian scarab, from the Blacas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but uninscribed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (?) in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 68 no. 330 pl. II, *ib.* p. 89 f. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 19, 28, ii. 93 ('Geflügelter Dämon'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 25, 7 p. 171 ('Eros')). Lastly, a *stèle* from Bologna, assigned to the date 390–360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 pp. 139–142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub-Minoan?) in the Archipelago: see the Melian (?) gem *supra* ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Ikaria) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rd.* p. 250 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann *loc. cit.* p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.

i. 726 ff. Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the partridge. L. Mercklin *Die Talos-Sage und das sardische Lachen* in the *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg par divers savants* Saint-Petersbourg 1854 vii. 110 (74) n. 203 cp. the romantic tale of Meles and Timagoras (Paus. i. 30. 1) or Timagoras and Meletos (Soud. s.v. Μῆλαρος), on which see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2626 and Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 491 f. But this has been adequately explained on other lines by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923–1925 xxvi. 101–104.

J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 222–233 illustrates *inter alia* (p. 231 fig. 6) a small red-figured *lekkythos* of c. 470 B.C., in New York, on which a winged youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down'.... 'The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-century Vase?' *ib.* 1928 xlviii. 9 f. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

On *πεπλῖνος* see R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1936 lvi. 8 (botanical identifications).

i. 732 Zeus paired with Selene. Cp. S. Eitrem 'Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 18 n. 1.

i. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Νόσιος of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering Δι Νόσιος (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: 'Νόσιος findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer "Schreibübung eines Steinmetzen," aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe.... Auch v. Wilamowitz G G A 1914, 100 hält Δι Νόσιος für gesichert, fügt aber mit Recht hinzu: "es kann wohl nur ein νεώσιος sein, so sehr es befremdet."'

i. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian* London 1881 ii. 317 with pl., J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3309 takes Sil. It. 3. 103 ff. (lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrike | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem) to mean that Melichos the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrike by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus Πεύδης is attested by Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. 'Επιθετα Διός... 86 πεύδους, 266 'Επιθετα Διός... 74 πεύδους. The epithet, a derivative of πείος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 743 D—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soll also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprunges ist' (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1751).

i. 735 n. 3 Lykourgos. Bronze coins of Alexandria struck by Antoninus Pius represent Lykourgos with his double axe attacking Ambrosia, who according to Nonn. *Dion.*

21. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 153 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos *ib.* p. 466 ff.).

i. 737 Epopeus as an embodiment of Zeus. To the same effect A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 106 n. 1.

i. 741 Aphrodite and her dove in Kypros. W. N. Bates 'Aphrodite's Doves at Paphos in 1932' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1932 liii. 260 f. notes that the church of St George at New Paphos, built over a temple of Aphrodite (?), has in front of its iconostasis five white doves, which hold in their beaks cords supporting lamps. A larger church recently erected in the neighbourhood again has the same arrangement of five white doves holding lamp-cords. Finally the twelfth-century monastery of St Neophytus, some seven miles from Ktima, can boast the bones of the saint kept in a wooden box made by himself. 'Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded.' Bates rightly concludes that 'Aphrodite's doves still have a place in their ancient home.'

i. 741 n. 4 Zeus Μαῖεύς. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 49 n. 2: 'Auch in Μαῖεύς: ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρεῖ Hes. wird wohl nur der pers. *Aura-mazdā* zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'

i. 744 n. 3. On the inscription here cited see further A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxix. 585 f., M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 269.

i. 750. For the star on the shoulder of a lion cp. a basalt relief from the level of Thutmose III (B.C. 1501—1447 Breasted) at Beisan, which shows two scenes of a lion attacked by a Molossian mastiff (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 1047 with fig. 727: 'Nous noterons sur ce bas-relief une particularité de facture: à l'épaule du lion, les poils forment une sorte de rosace en étoile à raies courbes; on la retrouvera plus tard sur un lion d'Arslan-Tash; à Zandjirli la plupart des lions portent au même endroit du corps deux traits croisés en X').

i. 751 Zeus conceived as dwelling in the starry sky. Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1106 ὁ τοῦ κατ' ἄσπερα Ζηνὸς ἀσθηθεὶς γένος.

i. 753 Tios or Tion in Bithynia. L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1934 i. 93 f. figs. 1—5 gives an account of his visit to the place with views of its *akropolis* etc.

i. 754 Zeus ringed with the zodiac. R. Wood *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor of the Desert* London (1753) p. 45 pl. 19. A publishes the circular medallion of a ceiling, which shows Zeus surrounded by six deities and a zodiacal ring. The spandrels are occupied by four eagles. The whole decorates the soffit of the temple of Sol at its southern end—a temple restored by Aurelian (see his letter to Cerronius Bassus in Vopisc. v. *Aurelian.* 31. 7 ff.).

i. 754 traces of astrology in early Greece. See A. Engelbrecht 'Vermeintliche Spuren altgriechischer Astrologie' in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 125—130, who argues that there are 'von einer eigentlichen Astrologie mindestens bis zum vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert keine positiven, wohl aber negative Spuren in den Schriftwerken,' and W. Capelle 'Älteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 373—395, who claims to find such traces in the Hippocratic *περὶ διαίτης* 4. 89 Litré (iv. 426 ff. Jones) at the end of 1. v B.C. and probably also in Demokrit. *ap. Aët.* 2. 15. 3 (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 ii. 32).

i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (= my fig. 882) reproduces the fine illustration of Arat. *phaen.* 1 given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20'. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed *nimbus*, on his back. Background blue, framework vermilion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, *nimbus* and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himdtion* rose.

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Βῆλος. J. Cantineau 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bēl' in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 f. no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504 = 193 A.D., which (Greek 4 ff.) mentions an ἀρχιερεὺς [αἰ] [σ]μαρσοῦρχης ἐπέσω[ ] μεγίστου θεοῦ [Διὸς Βῆλου]. See further P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 227.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman 'De Iuturna et Dioscuris' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1931 lix. 427—430, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ('Iuturna und die Dioskuren') [cp. F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245], claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called 'Diutures', 'sons of Zeus,' cp. *Iuturna* [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3856] > *Iuturna*, 'daughter of Zeus,' hybrid formations. 'A stirpe \*Diu (love) per suffixum patronymicum -tur vel -sur derivatum



est \**Diutur*, unde per Etruscum formans -*na* formatur *Diuturna*... \**Diutures* responderet igitur \**Tur̥ap̥as*, quod per prae-Graecum suffixum -*ap̥*- eandem vim habens atque Etruscum -*thur* vel -*tur* derivatum est a *Tis*, quod idem est in lingua Etrusca valens *Δία*. Itaque *Tur̥ap̥as* vel amplior forma Laconica *Tur̥ap̥idai* synonymum est *Dioscurorum*.\*

But, if Brakman is indebted to Altheim, Altheim in turn owes much to others. G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. had already suggested that *Tur̥ap̥idai* or *Tur̥ap̥idai* was simply the Etruscan name for Zeus—*tin*, *tins*, *tinia*—with an Asia-Minor patronymic suffix -*ap̥*- and a Greek patronymic suffix -*id̥*- ('so hätten wir denn das spätere *Διόσκουροι* für eine griechische Übersetzung des vorhellenischen Namens *Tur̥ap̥idai* anzusehen'). And P. Kretschmer in an article of cardinal importance



Fig. 881.

had proposed *ib.* p. 303 ff. *Tur̥ap̥idai* = Etruscan *Tin-* (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic -*thur* or -*tur* (cp. *tinthur* as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the *θ* or *t* of the Etruscan suffix became *δ* under the influence of a personal name \**Tur̥ap̥as* related to the place-name *Tir̥n̥* as *Πir̥ap̥as* to *Πir̥os* or *Μir̥ap̥as* to *Μir̥n̥*. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix -*ap̥*- [cp. Addenda to i. 725]. Kretschmer concludes *ib.* p. 308: 'Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die unidg. Urbevölkerung und die protidg. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hiess *Tin-*, woneben vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngeren Schicht \**Taus*, \**Teus* trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, *lada* [*supra* i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingssöhne hiessen \**Tintor-* oder ähnl. Wenn wir zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrrhenopelager bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Iliasstelle II 233 gelöst: *Ζεῦ ἀνα Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, ...*'

i. 768 n. o. See now O. Huth 'Die Kulturre der Indogermanen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 371—377 (in continuation of *id.* 'Der Durchzug des Wilden Heeres' *ib.* 1935 xxxii. 193—210).

i. 776 Zeus *Amidrios*. A. Aymard 'Le Zeus fédéral achéen Hamarios—Homarios' in the *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis* Toulouse 1935 pp. 453—470 (defends the form *Ἀμάριος*, cp. the summary in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1936 xlix. 349). *Id.* 'Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achéen' in the *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves iv) Bruxelles 1936 i. 1—26.

i. 781. A. D. Knox in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1915 xlv. 695 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon *frag.* 2. 4 *δὲ οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ Δίφαρ ἰδίζητο* the word *Δίφαρ* or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with *vv.* 5, 6 from (Ktesias) *ap.* Strab. p. 733, following or correcting Hdt. i. 132. But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 530 E *δὲ οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδὲ Δίφωδίζητο* is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 232). Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) *frag.* 1. 4 now prints *δὲ οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ [δίζ]ω ἰδίζητο*, and E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*<sup>2</sup> Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 108 *frag.* 3. 4 is still content with Naeke's *δὲ οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδ' ἰδίζητο*.

i. 782 on Saint George as dragon-slayer. Add S. A. Matson *St. George and the Dragon*<sup>2</sup> London 1893 pp. 1—22 (popular), M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) pp. 174 ff. ('St. Michael and the Dragon'), 177 ff. ('St. George and the Dragon').

i. 784 bull-carrying on a coin of Nysa. Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlvii Griechische Münzen* (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u. a.) Wien 1914 p. 70 no. 1511 pl. 24 ('Stier auf den Schultern von sechs nackten Epheben getragen, davor schreitender Flötenspieler') Maximus. See also K. Kourouniotes in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1921—1922 vii. 4 fig. 2 (enlarged).

i. 784 Syro-Hittite bulls enclosing human victims. We may perhaps compare the hollow bronze horse containing the body of a man, found by Gyges in Lydia (Plat. *rep.* 359 D, Apostol. 13. 85).

i. 785 statuette of gilded bronze from the Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 293 no. 2 'Atergatis?', H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1923—1924 Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 5, 10 'Atergatis'. But the statuette, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, has been cleaned and proves to be a male figure, possibly that of Adad (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1914 p. 14) or Chronos (R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*<sup>4</sup> Roma 1922 p. 120 f. no. 188). J. Leipoldt in D. Hans Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xiv f. fig. 109 is content to say 'Syrischer Gott vom Janiculum'.

ii. 3 n. o pot-Zeuses. Cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 22 *Διόνυσος, νῦν Στραμῖον* with schol. *δέον εἶναι νῦν Διός, κ.τ.λ.* H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 58 aptly explains Hesych. *Ἐγγώ· ἡ Σεμέλη οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο* as a comic formation from *ἐγγεῖν*.

ii. 6 n. 3. So Plout. *v. C. Gracch.* 14 *καὶ τότε μὲν θυβρον γενομένου διελύθησαν· κ.τ.λ.*

ii. 7 n. 1. See also O. Casel 'Vom heiligen Schweigen' in the *Benedictiner Monatschrift* 1921 p. 417 ff., and G. Mensching *Das heilige Schweigen* Giessen 1926 pp. 1—162 (reviewed by O. Casel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 142—149).

ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. treats *Ἐκρω* as a short form of *Ἐχέλαος* (Attic *Ἐχέλος*).

ii. 9 apotheosis by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1924 xviii. 15 f.

ii. 12 Keraunos. H. Güntert *Über Reimwortbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 215 f. regards the god *Κεραυνός* as a rime-word to the Slavonic *\*Peraunos*.

R. Ganszynieck 'Zeus Keraunos' in *Eos* 1930/1931 xxxiii. 66 cp. 'Schiblé, der Gott des Donners, des Krieges und der Gerechtigkeit' worshipped by the Adighe or Circassians, who treat as sacrosanct any tree or man struck by lightning (F. Bodenstedt *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* Frankfurt 1848 p. 201).

ii. 13 ff. Zeus *Kataibates*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Kataibates'). A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1924 p. 146 f. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a *stèle* of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of Hagia Kyriake at *Selos* near Pythion in Thessaly. The *stèle* has an *altoma* with *akroteria* above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and below that an inscription in letters of *ε*. the beginning of *ε. iii* B.C. *Διὶ Καραϊβάτη· ἥρω*



Ἐπ[ι]επάρε. This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival *Karaibasia* see Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2461 f. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 71 n. 4 adds the base of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus *Kataibates* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537). And G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated c. the beginning of our era) *Διὸς Karaibάτου*.

ii. 19 n. o. ἀλευρομάντεϊ, ἀλφειομάντεϊ, κριθομάντεϊ. See now Boehm 'Aleuromantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 258—260, 'Alphitomantie' *ib.* i. 310 f., 'Kriothomantie' *ib.* 1933 v. 594—596, and Eckstein 'Mehl' *ib.* 1934 vi. 89—110.

ii. 21 n. g. G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 32 conjectures that this *abaton* of Zeus *Kataibates* marks the spot on which Demetrios Poliorketes [*supra* i. 58, cp. K. Scott 'The Deification of Demetrius Poliorketes' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1928 xlix. 217—239 summarised by P. Cloché in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 228] 'descended in a blaze of glory' from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plaut. *Curr.* 413 ff. where Curculio announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (*summiano*)!

ii. 23 n. 2 Numa's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1931 lxxx. 279—298 cj. *hominem fulmine (or fulmini) ictos occidit*, and examines in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.

ii. 24 Orpheus slain by a thunderbolt. Paus. 9. 30. 5 εἰσι δὲ οἱ φασὶ κεραυνωθέντι ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευταίην Ὀρφεὶ κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐ πρότερον ἀκηκοῦσθαι ἀνθρώπων, Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5 τὸ δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ἐπιγράμματα, κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν, λέγον οὕτως: Ὀρφέα χρυσολόγην τῆς Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἐθαύσαν, | ὅν κράνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς φάλαγγι βέλει = *Anth. Pal.* 7. 617. 1 f., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 99. 1 f.

ii. 30 n. 3 etymology of *Brundisium*. P. Skok 'Brendisium und Verwandtes' in the *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 1925/26 i. 81—90.

ii. 31 *téras*. See further P. Stein ΤΕΡΑΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects *Τεραστία* with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrader *Reallex.* 2 ii. 143<sup>b</sup>, 481<sup>a-b</sup> and H. Lewy in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1930 lviii. 30 f. connect *téras*, *reípa*, *Τεραστία* and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.

ii. 32 the *Tarentum* at Rome. P. Boyancé in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 1925 xlii. 135—146 discusses the site of the *ara Ditis* in Tarento and concludes that it was in low ground near the Tiber, probably in the *Ghetto* (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 221). But see the criticisms of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 508 f.

ii. 33 ff. Zoroastres. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. 1—241 ('Les Textes').

ii. 36 ff. the Elysian Way. See now P. Capelle 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 244—264, *ib.* 1928 xxvi. 17—40 (the etymology is dealt with on p. 32 f.), J. Charpentier 'Νεκρὸς ἀπολύψ' in *Symbolae philologicae* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae Upsalae 1932 p. 27 ff., Stegemann 'Milchstrasse' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 367—374.

ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. *rep.* 616 b) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. F. Julius Schmidt *Das Zodiacallicht* Braunschweig 1856 pp. 1—110)? J. Helmbold *Der Atlasmythus und Verwandtes* Mülhausen i. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Mülhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (*Od.* 1. 52 ff.), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar... I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the *Zodiacal Light*. This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly

luminous pillar with tapering point... I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes.'

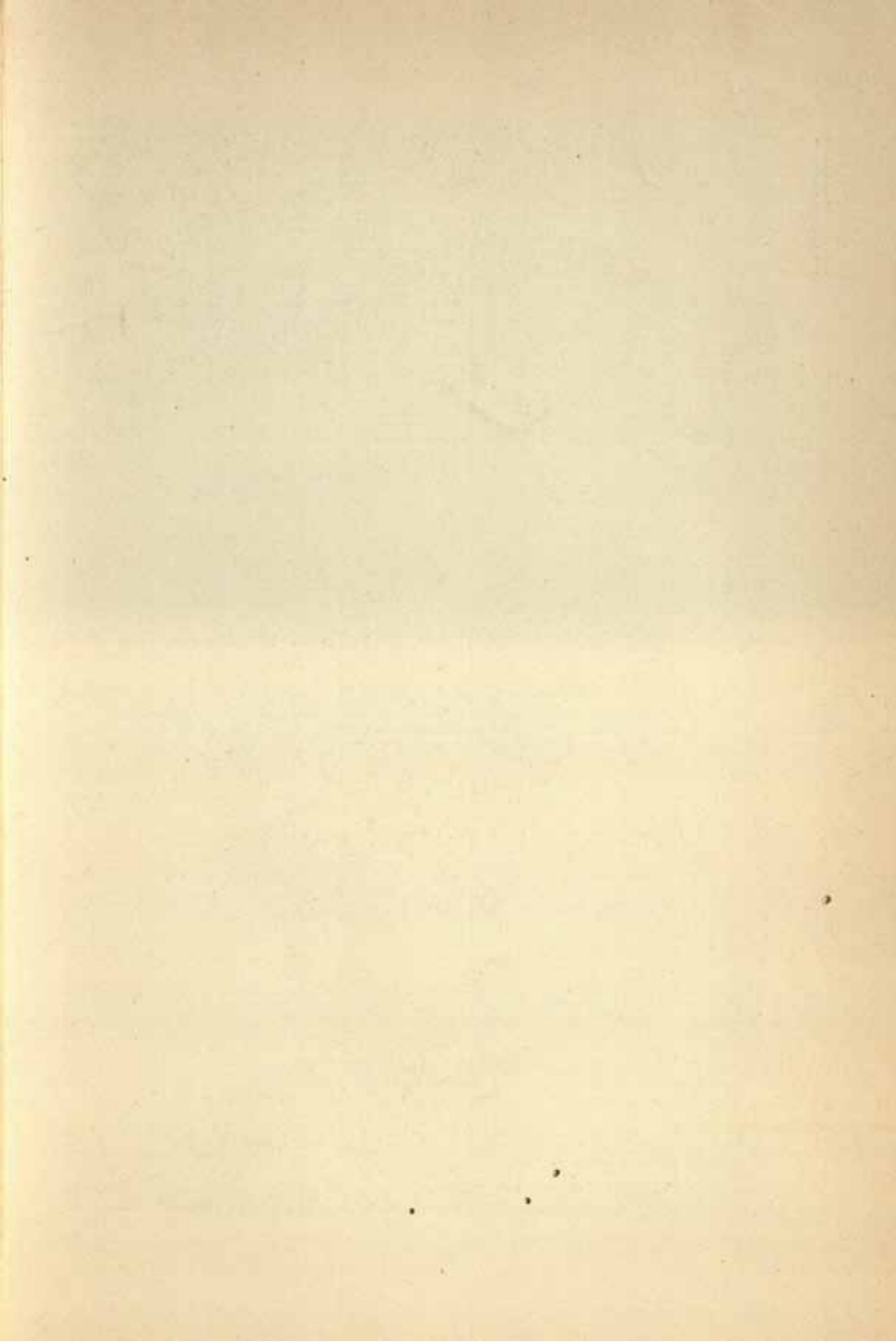
ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuhl in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 58-64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame au fuseau' [for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B 1922-1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.].

ii. 52 n. 2 *Iringes wec.* Add Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

ii. 52 ff. (cp. iii. 418 n. o) the *Irmingsl* as a sky-prop. G. Dottin in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 138: 'This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry.' Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 148 notes that, according to the Upotos of the Upper Congo, 'The day will come when the sky will collapse and flatten us all out, blacks and whites alike' (a reference that I owe to my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris). H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 381 n. 1 cp. our own proverb 'If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks' [W. G. Smith *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 210 f.], but refuses to believe that this ever expressed a real fear. Weiser-Aall in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1930 ii. 1527: 'Das Weltgebäude ist nach der Vorstellung vieler Völker wie das Wohnhaus aufgebaut. So muss der Himmel wie das Dach durch eine Säule bzw. durch den Weltbaum gestützt werden' etc. (Scandinavians, Lapps, Celts, Germans). A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 130 f. defends my view against criticism and supplies a parallel from the *Veda* (H. Oldenberg *La religion du Veda* Paris 1903 p. 60 n. 2 'Pourquoi le ciel ne tombe-t-il pas sur la terre?—Parce qu'un grand bouc à une seule patte lui sert de pilier' [cp. A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 73 f.]). J. Erdödi in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1932 l. 214-219 discusses the Sanskrit *Skambha*, 'himmelstützender Baum' (*Atharva-Veda* 10. 8. 2 'Vom Skambha wird der Himmel und die Erde | Ewig gehalten auseinander, | Auf Skambha (ruht) dies beseelte All, | Was atmet, was die Augen schliesst'), as source of the Finnish *Sampo*, which in the *Kalevala* denotes 'eine wunderbare Mühle, Glücksmühle,' but is akin to the Wotyak *sammas*, 'Säule, Wetterhahn,' and Estonian *sammas*, 'Säule, Pfosten.'

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B. 1922-1923 xvi. 3. 9-33 figs. 2-15 ('Die Weltaule'). *Id.* in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 221 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turukhansk District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky," "round which the heavens revolve." The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, *Bohi-naville* ("the nail of the north"); its counterpart among the Estonians being the *Põhjaneel*.... This nail is, at the same time, regarded as supporting the sky.... Missionaries relate that the Lapps sacrificed to their highest god *Veralden rade* ("Ruler of the world") so that "he should not let fall the sky," erecting at the altars a tree either split in two or forked naturally, or also, at times, a high pillar, called the "pillar of the world" (*Veralden tshuold*) for the god to "support the world with, and keep it in its present form and condition, that it might not grow old and fall from its former nature." The tree was besmeared with blood from the sacrifice. A "pillar of the world" of this description was seen by Leem in the vicinity of the Porsanger Fjord [*supra* ii. 423 n. 3 with fig. 329].... That these pillars of the Lapps had a heavenly counterpart is shown by the fact that, in some places, the name of the North Star is "pillar of the world" (*Veralden tshuold*). It is probable that the Lapps obtained both their ideas and their sacrificial customs from the Scandinavians...; the "nail" may be compared with the Scandinavian *Veraldar nagli*, the "world-nail." *Id. ib.* p. 333 ff.: 'From this belief spring the curious names given by the Altaic stocks to the North Star. The Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, and the Altai Tatars and Uigurs call the star in question "The golden pillar"; the Kirghis, Bashkirs and certain other Siberian Tatar tribes call it "The iron pillar"; the Teleuts "The lone post," and the Tungus-Orotshons "The golden post." From the similarity of the names given it by these widely separated peoples we may conclude that the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period.... Although none of the available sources mention directly that the peoples of the Altaic race made images of this great world-pillar, we can still be reasonably certain that they did so from the fact that several of the more northern peoples have kept up this custom even to our days.... The Ostiaks call these wooden images of the pillar, "town-pillars" or "the strong pillars of the town's centre." Those more simple in construction are erected by being slightly sunk







*a*



*b*

Marble head of Iuno *Lucina* (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 1117.



into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old.... This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Irtysh, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars.... Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads.... The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. On the cross-pieces, so it is said, dwell the sons of God.'

E. Jung 'Irmisul und Rolandsäule' in *Mannus* 1925 xvii. 1—34 figs. 1—14, taking a hint from J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 and 394, claims that the *Rolandsäule* of Niedersachsen, Westfalen, Obersachsen, and Thüringen was a Christianised survival of the pre-Christian *Irmisul* (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 502). See further P. J. Hamilton-Grierson in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 420 ('Irmisäulen, Rolandsäulen, *perrons*, and many of the market-crosses of Scotland').

ii. 57 ff. Jupiter-Columns. These are now published and illustrated in detail by Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* (Index in x. 253 'Chapiteau,' 266 'Restes de colonnes,' 275 f. 'Quatre divinités') and *Bas-reliefs de la Germanie Rom.* (Index p. 480 'Cavalier et angipède,' 'Colonne votive,' p. 484 'Quatre divinités'). Add R. L[antier] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 276—278 fig. 1 (group from Neschers).

ii. 61 n. o Iuno Lucina. In 1934 on the dispersal of the Harland-Peck collection I acquired a fine marble head (Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue* 1934 p. 11 no. 48: height 22 inches), which represents Iuno wearing a *stephane* adorned with nine crescents (pl. lxxix). I take her to be Iuno Lucina as goddess of childbirth—the Roman copy of a Greek type resembling Hera Ludovisi.

ii. 62 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 pp. 173—211 ('La Mesnie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage'), K. Meisen *Die Sagen vom Wütenden Heer und Wilden Jäger* Münster 1935 pp. 1—144.

ii. 63 Wodan. Cp. G. Neckel 'Regnator omnium deus' [*Tac. Germ.* 39] in the *Neue Jahrbuch für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 1926 ii. 139—150.

ii. 69 ff. the octagonal *Wochengötterstein*. F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 88 suggests that the influence of Syrian religious art may account for these eight-sided blocks, mounted on a square plinth and supporting a cylindrical column with its crowning group of cavalier and angiped.

ii. 86 n. 3. L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des tombeaux gallo-romains' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lussoius and Bricia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such *cippi* bear the sepulchral dedication D-M.

ii. 88 the world-pillar in Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1929 kindly drew my attention to Skymn. *Ch. per.* 188 ff. τούτων δὲ (sc. τῶν Κελτῶν) κεῖται λεγομένη τις ἐσχάτη | στήλη βόρειος· ἐστὶ δ' ὑψηλὴ πᾶν | εἰς κυματώδες πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσι ἄκραν. | αἰκοῦσι τῇς στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἐγγεῖς τόπους | Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἐσχατοὶ | Ἐνεροὶ τε καὶ τῶν ἐντοῖς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν | Ἰστρον καθέκωντον· λέγουσι δ' αὐτόθεν | τὸν Ἰστρον ἐρχην λαμβάνειν τοῦ πέλαγος.

ii. 88 n. 3 Jack and the Beanstalk. On which see L. Mackensen 'Bohnenranke zum Himmel' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 299—301.

ii. 97 n. o Nero as Zeus. A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 18 notes *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 75 no. 7 (Dioshieron) obv. ΣΕΥΣ | ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ heads of Zeus to left and Nero to right, face to face. Nock cites Calp. Sic. 4. 142 f. tu quoque mutata seu Iuppiter ipse figura, | Caesar, ades etc.

ii. 107 n. 4. For the spiral column see also the materials collected by M. Avi-Yonah in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 i. 303—309.

ii. 111 n. o Zeus *Tropaiophoros*. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1926—1927 xxviii. 117 no. 1 publishes an inscription from Klazomenai [Δία τροπαιοφόρον] [.....] ἀνέθηκεν | [ἐπιμελη]θέντος Τιβερίου | [Κλαυδίου] Θεοδώρου.

ii. 111 n. 1 La Turbie. See now A. Blanchet *Forma orbis Romani: carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* Fasc. 1 *Alpes-Maritimes* by P. Couissin sections 4—6 pls. 1—3 Paris 1931 (noticed by W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 520).

P. Casimir *Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie* Marseille 1932 pp. 1—168, S. F. Gimenez 'Ce que j'ai vu à la Turbie' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 165—168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Kallisthenes of Olynthos *frag.* 8 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 13 f. Müller) = *frag.* 20 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 646 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 4 (cp. *ib.* 7. 5. 3—5) inter multa... prodigia, quibus denuntiata est duarum urbium Helices et Buris eversio, fuere maxime notabilia columna ignis immensi et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 656 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (z. ii. B.C.: see A. Jacoby in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 278 n. 1) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 9. 29. 16 locates Moses' rock at Elim and says τὸν δὲ φάγγος ἐξέλαυσεν αὐτὸν, | κατ' ἐμφάνειαν σημεῖον ὡς στυλὸς πυρός—apparently combining the 'pillar of fire' (Ex. 13. 21 f., *alib.*) with the 'rock in Horeb' (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20. 8), if not with the 'rock that followed them' (1 Cor. 10. 4).

R. Vallois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 327 f. regards the blaze in Krastonia as a ritual epiphany of Dionysos, citing Suet. *Aug.* 94 Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Vallois compares the Theban myth of Dionysos πυρρηνός [Eustath. in *Il.* p. 346, 32] and the nativity of the Cretan Zeus (Ant. Lib. 19: *supra* ii. 928 n. o).

ii. 117 n. 7 Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 remarks that Quint. Smyrn. is here imitating Ap. Rhod. 3. 160 f.

ii. 119 'star-flung Thunderbolt.' K. Kerényi 'Αερεποβλήτρα κεραυνός' in the *Egyptisches Philologisches Kolloquium* Budapest 1927 ii. 81—87 = *id.* 'ΑΣΤΕΡΟΒΛΗΤΑ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 322—330, cp. *id.* *ib.* 1933 xxx. 288 n. 1.

ii. 121 'I have fallen as a kid into milk.' C. W. Vollgraff ΕΠΙΦΘΟΣ ΕΣ ΤΑΑ' ΕΠΗΤΟΝ (*Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* Deel 57, Serie A, N°. 2) Amsterdam 1924 pp. 1—35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means 'I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,' i.e. upon the breast of the deity. Cp. the Villa Igem fresco, where a Satyrus suckles a kid [A. Maiuri *La Villa dei Misteri* Roma 1931 p. 140 ff. fig. 53 and col. pl. 5 f.].

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add: (7) A *kylix* from Caere, now at Schwerin, signed by the potter Pistoxenos [Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 372 f. no. 3 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 259 no. 1] shows young Herakles followed by an old crone Geropso, who is tattooed in the Thracian manner with parallel strokes on neck, forearms, and feet (the best publication is that of J. Maybaum in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 24—37 fig. 1 pls. 5—8). (8) A fragmentary *kylix*-krater from Tarentum, now at the Hague (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 355—361 pl. 178), represents the assailants of Orpheus with numerous tattoo-marks on arms, legs, and necks. 'Dieser Körperschmuck besteht nicht nur aus geometrischen Mustern, senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen, Zickzack- und Mäanderbändern und punktierten Sternen [on which solar symbol see *supra* i. 296 fig. 219, C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 55 ff., *id.* *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 51 pl. 4, 1, and S. Casson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.], sondern an Armen und Beinen sehen wir auch sich emporringelnde Schlangen und hochbeinige Vierfüssler, Rehe und Hirsche und einmal am Arm wohl eher ein springendes Reh als einen Hasen' (p. 359).

ii. 123 n. o ritual tattooing. See further F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1930 ii. 100 ff. ('Die Gottesweihe durch Brandmarkung oder Tätowierung in ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemäerzeit'), 107 ff. ('Zur Frage der religiösen Tätowierung im thrakischen Dionysoskult...'), 297 ff. ('Religiöse Tätowierung im Atargatiskult von Hierapolis in Syrien'), 1932 iii. 257 ff. ('Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur').

ii. 124 ladder as soul-path. Hence perhaps that favourite motif in Pompeian art—Eros on a ladder (e.g. Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 85, 3—5, p. 91, 4).

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 96 fig. 56 (Ἀδωρίαφόρα: the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite).

ii. 128 Jacob's ladder. C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933



p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

ii. 128 n. 2. See now T. Dombart *Der babylonische Turm* Leipzig 1930 pp. 1—36 with 9 figs. in text and 4 pls.

ii. 129 n. 2. Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1926, kindly points out to me that in Chwolson's translation from Makrisi 'Leiter' means, not 'ladder,' but 'leader' ('etwa die Bedeutung von "spiritus rector"').

ii. 130 votive ladders. W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 410—420 ('L'échelle aux serpents') observes that, from the year 364 B.C. onwards, the official inventories of the Artemision at Delos mention a small ladder in gilded wood round which a couple of silver snakes were twined (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 461 ff. line 102 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 815, 102 ff. (364 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξέλινον περικεχρυσωμένον ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον | ἀσπατον, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 389 ff. (B) 35 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 833, 35 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161 B 35 f. (279 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξέλινον περίχρυσον ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς [διεζω]μένον, ἀσπατον, *ib.* ii no. 162 B 28 f. (278 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξέλινον περ[ι]χρυσον ὄφειν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον, ἀσπατον, *ib.* ii no. 203 B 86 (269 B.C.) κλιμάκιον [ξέλινον] ἐπίχρυσον ὄφειν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς, E. Schulhof in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 64 ff. no. 12, 23 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 208, 23 f. κλιμάκιον ξ[έ]λ[ι]νον ἐπίχρυσον ὄφειν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς). For the snakes of the ladder Deonna cp. the vision of St Perpetua (*supra* ii. 133), a fresco of c. 300—350 A.D. from the crypt of St Marcus and St Marcellianus in the Cemetery of St Balbina (H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1910 ii. 149 f. with fig. 1229, cp. *ib.* 1921 iv. 1718 fig. 3900), and the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrade de Landsberg (*supra* ii. 136 n. 3). Does the same symbolism survive in the modern game of 'Snakes and Ladders'?

ii. 131 the terra-cotta disks from Tarentum. See now P. Willeumier 'Les disques de Tarente' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 26—64 with 4 pls. and 2 figs. K. Kerényi in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 271—307 with fig. on p. 270 adds an interesting example in the Museum at Brindisi ('Λαοδαι-*Darstellung...mit einem Zodiakus von 11 Zeichen*').

ii. 131 f. with fig. 79 Baubo. This terra cotta is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin: a photograph of it is given by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 16, also by O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 199 with fig. 2 ('Die Frau ist ganz nackt...und berührt mit der rechten Hand die Scham. In Ägypten kennen wir die Gestalt dieser Frau in derselben Haltung und mit derselben Geste in zahlreichen Wiederholungen, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass sie nicht auf dem Schwein sitzt. Es sind kleine Figürchen, die gewöhnlich unter dem Namen Baubo gehen, ohne dass sie irgendwelches Recht auf diesen Namen haben. Sie tragen meist reichen Schmuck an Armen und Beinen, Kränze auf dem Kopf, und als Attribut kommt neben Sistrum und Flaschen einmal auch eine Leiter vor, nie die Scala').

See further S. Reinach 'Un mime byzantin' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 433—442 (= *id.* 'Un mime byzantin ou Baubo à Byzance' in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1923 v. 103—113), C. Picard 'L'épisode de Baubo dans les mystères d'Eleusis' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1927 xcv. 230—254, G. Pansa Miti, *leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo* Sulmona 1927 ii. 91 ff. ('Il mito Eleusimio (sic) di Baubo ed il simbolo talismanico della ranocchia') with 11 figs., S. Reinach 'Baubo japonaise' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 337, U. Pestalozza in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 64 ff. (Baubo etc.), P. Demargne 'Deux représentations de la déesse minoenne dans la nécropole de Mallia (Crète)' in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 305—314 with pls. 1—3 and fig. 1 (a painted anthropomorphic rhyton of 'Early Minoan iii' date and an incised *oinoche* of 'Middle Minoan i'—both showing a goddess comparable with Baubo), H. Vorwahl 'Ein apotropäischer Kriegsbrauch' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 395—397 ('so wird eindeutig, dass es sich hier um dynamistische Vorstellungen handelt, die Ausstrahlung von Kraft im apotropäischen Sinne'). An external corbel on the apse of the Norman church at Kilpeck, Monmouthshire, is sufficient proof that Baubo is with us yet.

ii. 142 n. 1. Cp. also A. Taramelli 'Chiaramonti.—Navicella votiva protosarda rinvenuta a Nuraghe Spiena' in the *Not. Scavi* 1925 pp. 322—327 fig. 1 (bronze boat with stag-head prow), F. Behn in Ebert *Reallex.* xi. 248 with pl. 64, a.

ii. 143 Sardus Pater. C. Albizzati 'Sardus Pater' in *Historia* 1927 i. 56—65 with 14 figs., L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 198.

ii. 146 Diana-Pillars. Cp. a fresco from Pompeii which shows Mercury facing Venus and, between them, a Diana-pillar with crown-shaped top, a pair of ox-horns (?) attached

to the shaft, and a small ithyphallic ex-voto at the base—the whole erected on a rock (B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 32 with pp. 1–9, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 8 no. 20, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 97 no. 3).

ii. 150 n. 2. On the Jains see J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1926 xiii (Index). 288, also A. Guérinot *La religion Djaina* Paris 1926 pp. 1–350 with 25 pls. (pt 2. 11 'Cosmologie,' pt 3. 1 'Les sanctuaires et les temples').

ii. 157 n. o. E. Babelon *Guide illustré au Cabinet des Médailles* Paris 1900 p. 211 f. fig. 83 'Vase de Bérénice,' H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 11 no. K 76 pl. 5 (Βασίλειος Πτολεμαίου | Φιλοπάτορος.....), p. 12 no. K 77 pl. 5 (ἀγαθὴς τέχνης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου).

ii. 160 ff. *Agyieús*-Pillars. With figs. 104–106 cp. a square bronze weight in the British Museum (1930. 4–17. 2) with an *Agyieús*-pillar in relief surrounded by the letters A M B P.

C. A. Rhomaios in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 211 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an 'Ἀγυεὺς d'Apollon' a limestone pillar (1'44" high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [·] ΡΣΟΞΠΥΑΙΩΣ, that is [δ]ῆμος Πυθαίος = τοῦ Πυθίου or τοῦ Πυθαίου, cp. *ib.* fig. 6 a tapering limestone cylinder (0'90" high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡΕΟΧΙΑΡΟΣ |

ΤΑΞΑΚΡΙΑΣ, that is δῆμος ἱερὸς | τῆς Ἀκρίας = of Hera Ἀκρία. Rhomaios is followed by C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 699 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. *Id.* *ib.* iii. 1 no. 704 accepted as 'Apollinis Agyiei simulacrum' the stone of Mys (*supra* ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.

At Hephaestia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured Attic wares together with a rich deposit of terra-cotta figurines and local pots (E. P. Blegen) in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 196 f., D. Levi in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary).

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the *Agyieús*. Thus in *Il.* 12. 445 ff. Hektor caught up λᾶαν...., ὅτι βα πύλαων | ἐστήκει πρόσθε, πρηνὲς παχὺς, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε | δέξθ' ἐνρ. Also in *Od.* 3. 406 ff. Nestor sat ἐπὶ ('at' rather than 'on') ξυστοῖσι λίθοισιν, οἱ οἱ ἔσαν προπάροιθε θυράων ὑψηλῶν | λευκοί, ἀποστλᾶσθες δέλφαρος (libations of fat, not polish): οἱς ἐπὶ μὲν πρὶν | Νηλεὺς ἔρκεεν, κ.τ.λ. Again, elders in the market-place sat ἐπὶ ξυστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κόκλῳ (*Il.* 18. 504, cp. *Od.* 8. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the *Agyieús*-block might serve as a seat (cp. Priamos on his ΘΑΚΟΣ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11–12)), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom of the buried chieftain. Much relevant evidence will be found in a book of intense interest by A. H. Allcroft *The Circle and the Cross* London 1927 i. 80 ff. ('The Achaean Moot' and successive chapters).

ii. 167 fig. 111. Cp. a copper *drachm* of Byzantion cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1094 fig. 1355: obv. BYZ head of Apollon, laureate, to right; rev. ΔΠΑ||ΧΜΑ pillar with finial, set on a broad base (?).

ii. 169 ff. the Delphic *omphalos*. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 839 ff. with fig. 555 publishes a plaster-fragment from Knossos, found near the 'Cow-boy Fresco' on the east slope of the palace, which shows a pale blue *omphalos* (?) with a deep red band twined about it in an irregular net-like fashion.

L. B. Holland 'The Mantic Mechanism at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 201–214 argues that the *omphalos* shown in my pl. ix, a–c with fig. 119 stood on a low square plinth beside a circular base supporting the tripod. *Omphalos* and plinth were alike pierced by a square hole. There was probably a tube of bronze in the hole. The knife was inserted to extract this metal lining, but got stuck in the hole. The nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The purpose of the pipe was to convey the inspiring fumes from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.

H. Lacoste in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 1 pl. 4 gives a



restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollon, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. *Id. ib.* 'Addenda et Corrigenda' p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the *omphalos* (my fig. 120) by prolonging the first stroke of the *alpha* so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was *Δ*.

F. Chapouthier in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 336 draws attention to the curious resemblance of the inscription engraved on an *amphora* from Mykenai (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minora* Oxford 1909 i. 58 fig. 33).

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière 'Une statue de la Terre à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde *ΑΛ = ΓΑ* on its upper surface and *ΓΑ* in later lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (?), one inscribed retrograde *ΖΙΜΞΘ = Θέμης* on its upper surface and *ΘΕΜΙΞ* in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but *ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΝ* in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist's signature *Λ. ΑΘΩΝ* followed by *ΕΡΓΟΝ* (F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 2. 163—165). On the whole it seems clear that the bases of *Ge* and *Themis* must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

ii. 176 n. 2 the Delphic *Ε*. This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* Berlin 1912 ii. 214 n. regards it as 'vermutlich eine κλεις κρυπτή, die zunächst als eine Erfindung geweiht, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als *Ε* gedeutet wurde. Denn das Balanosschlüssel sieht einem archaischen *Ε* sehr ähnlich.' F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ vii) Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23 cites with approval Diels' explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler's suggestion that we have here to do with 'kleine Tempelmodellchen: im Sohar wird der Buchstabe *ה* heikal = babyl. *E-GAL* = *ékallu* Tempel genannt,' etc. W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Dez. 23. 1922 pp. 1209—1211 still insists that *Ε* is *ελ = θη*, 'komm, tritt ein!' (*id.* 'Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen *Ε*' in *Hermes* 1901 xxxvi. 470—489). W. N. Bates 'The *Ε* of the Temple at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta* Oxford 1930 p. 92 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with *Π*, from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries 'De *Ε* Delphico' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumer: 'Jeremias...interroganti mihi scribit, *Ε* in Sumerorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum id quod sescenties in Sumerorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.' Finally, R. Demangel 'Triglyphes bas' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 421—438 with 17 figs. (especially pp. 426—428 fig. 9 f.) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my purview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhaps. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 281 (cp. *παρυσδοί*).

ii. 187 the *omphalos* as a mound (?). S. H. Hooke in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 24 f. derives the *omphalos* and its *agrenón* from 'early Sumerian seals of the "mountain" in which the dead god is imprisoned.'

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled 'Zeus pursuing Aegina' (e.g. L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Oxford 1921 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 22 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a *stámnos* from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (c. 470—455 B.C.), shows *ΙΕΥΣ* with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking *ΑΙΛΙΝΑ*, whose sisters hasten to tell their father *ΑΣΟΠΟΣ* (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 1 a, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4. Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 65 f. pl. 6, 4. Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 36 no. 37, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column-

*krater* in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (c. 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching Αἰῶνα. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopos, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 81 no. 8 bis, Beazley *op. cit.* p. 305 no. 3 'Semele verfolgt' (?) G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 116 f. no. 86 pls. 94 (=my fig. 883) and 170). On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 59-63.

ii. 189 antithetic grouping. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge (Oct. 31, 1928) on recent finds at Ur, showed that 'the antithetic arrangement of animal figures' long before its appearance on Cretan seals etc. occurs in Mesopotamian art, and in Babylonia can be traced back to a period c. 3000 B.C. See further F. A. v. Scheltens, G. Roeder, and E. Unger 'Wappen (und Wappenstil)' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 250-254, W. Deonna 'Animaux à deux corps et une tête' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 i. 47-73 figs. 6-12, A. Roes *Greek Geometric Art its Symbolism and its Origin* Haarlem-Oxford 1933 pp. 16 ff., 93 ff., 99 ff., 115 ff., J. Baltrusaitis *Art sumérien art roman* Paris 1934 pp. 17 ff., 31 ff., 56 f., 64 ff., 83 ff.

ii. 189 n. o. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachms of Gela (c. 466-415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's quadriga. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. S. G. Robinson in *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the obverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem to be intended to connect the bird to the car appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. *supra* ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 191 original character of the Delphic *omphalos*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the *omphalos* was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressemblance de l'omphalos delphique avec quelques représentations égyptiennes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 338-358. Picard thinks the analogies with modern Greek custom 'fort superficielles.' K. Schwendemann 'Omphalos, Pythongrab und Drachenkampf' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1920-1921 xx. 481-484 rejects the 'τῶμας-Theorie' and reverts to the older 'Erd-nabeltheorie.'

V. Nordström *Poseidon och hans skulptur* Helsingfors 1931 pp. 1-40 and *Om Hermes χροόραπτος* Helsingfors 1932 pp. 1-30 contends that Poseidon's staff (*Il.* 13. 59), Poseidon's trident, and Hermes' rod were all modifications of the umbilical cord! H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 182 deals faithfully with such vagaries.

ii. 193 ff. the Delphic tripod. C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1926 i. 247 fig. 100 (after Springer *Kunst des Altertums*<sup>10</sup> fig. 433) restores the Plataean tripod much as I do, but with legs contracted at the base.

K. Kluge in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 23 ff. discusses the technique of the serpent-column (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.).

ii. 199 n. 2 with pl. xii the Chigi base. A marble replica of (a) and (c), dredged up in the harbour at the Peiraeus and referred to a date c. 100 B.C., is figured in *The Illustrated London News* for Jan. 31, 1931 p. 164 f. A full account of the find is given by E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 91.

ii. 201 n. 1. J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me (March 2, 1927) that at Delphoi the plane-tree of Agamemnon is still shown, below Kastalia, at the outlet of the gorge.

ii. 205 n. 1 dolphins. See Biedermann *Der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantasie der Griechen und Römer* Halle a. S. 1881 pp. 1-26, E. B. Stebbins *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* Benasha, Wisconsin 1929 pp. 1-136 (reviewed by A. M. Duff in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xlv. 185 f.).

ii. 206 n. 1 divining-glass. A. Delatte *La catoptromanie grecque et ses dérivés* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège xlviii) Liège 1932 pp. 1-221 pls. 1-12, T. Hopfner 'Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 218-232.

ii. 209. On the *Pythia* as a case of artificial and voluntary possession see T. K. Oesterreich *Possession demoniacal and other among primitive races, in antiquity, the middle ages, and modern times* London 1930 pp. 311-331.

ii. 212 n. o the Peliades. Cp. also Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 103 f. nos. 553, 554.

ii. 212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured *Ikythos* at Leyden is



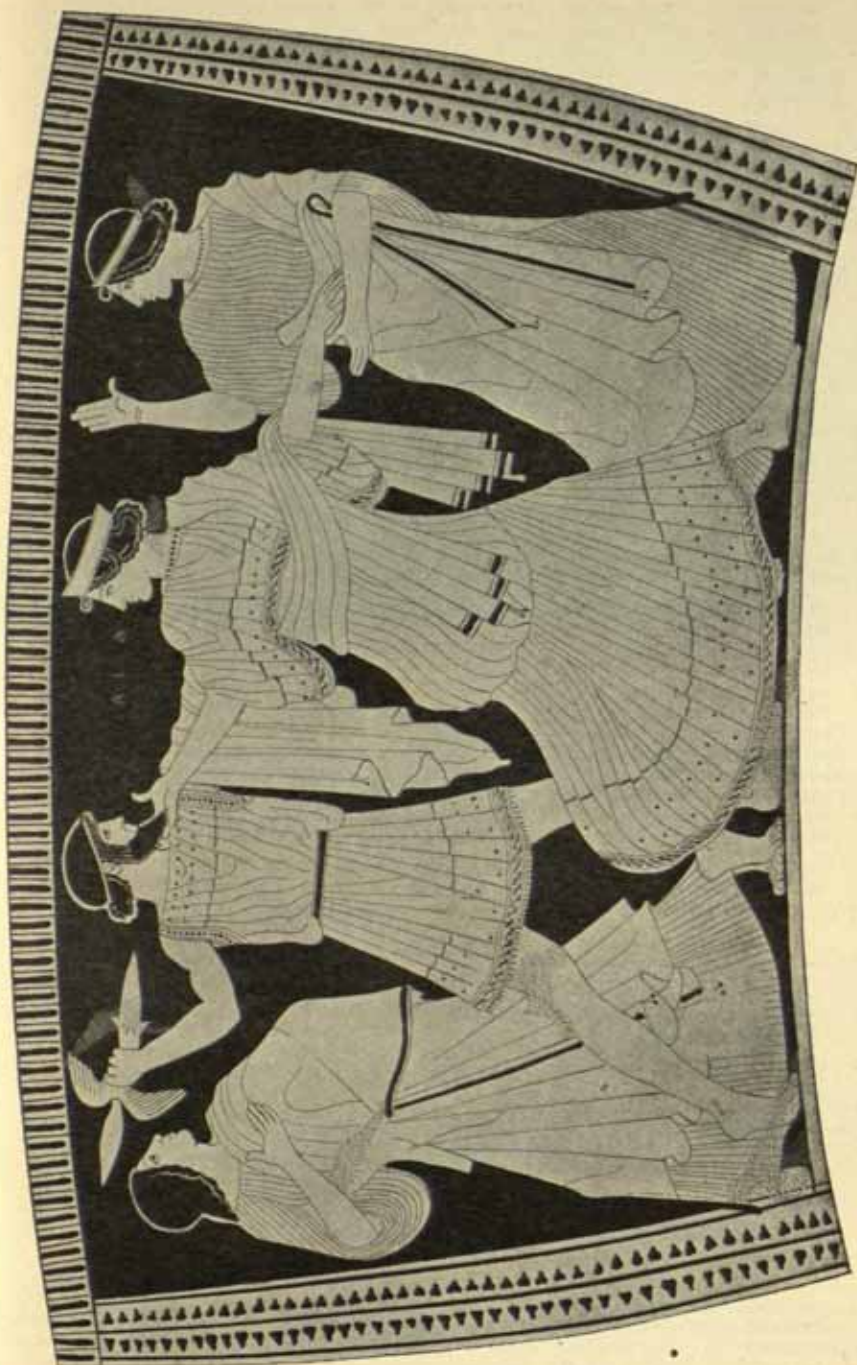


Fig. 883.

published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 534 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lekkythos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 120 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).

ii. 222 n. 4. Iambli. v. *Pyth.* 4 ff. possibly 'geht...durch Apollonios auf Timaios zurück, vgl. G. Bertermann, *De Iamblichii vit. Pyth. fontibus*, Diss. Königsberg 1913, S. 37' (O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1924/25 Abh. vii. 11 Nachtrag).

ii. 224 the ivory shoulder of Pelops. H. W. Parke 'The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy' in *Hermathena* 1933 xxiii. 153—162 discussing Paus. 5. 13. 4 ff. holds that the shoulder-blade of Pelops there mentioned as brought from Pisa to Troy and later lost off Euboia in a storm, but recovered from the sea by the fisherman Damarmenos and at the bidding of the Delphic oracle restored by him to the Eleans, was identified in s. vi B.C. with Pelops' ivory shoulder—a highly primitive feature of sacrificial or cannibalistic origin, being in reality the *scapula* of some cetacean!

I suspect that Eur. *Bacch.* 1300 (Agaue asks of her son's scattered limbs) ἦ παρ ἐν ἄρθροις συγκεκλυμένον καλῶς; points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

Cp. the shepherds' treatment of the boy killed by a bear in Apul. *met.* 7. 26 nec uspiam ruris aperitur ille sed plane corpus eius membratim laceratum multisque dispersum locis conspicitur...et cadaver quidem disiectis partibus <collectis> tandem totum reperit aegreque concinnatum ibidem terrae dedere. Note also the queer story of Domitia Longina, who collected the flesh of her butchered husband Domitian, put the pieces accurately together, sewed up the whole body, and had a bronze statue of it made and set up at Rome (Prokop. *anecdota* 8. 15—21).

ii. 224 n. 1 the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410<sup>b</sup>: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin ii. 191 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cador then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale ['Sheen Billy' in Campbell i. xcvi f.], and less close in a Scots ballad ['The Queen of Scotland' in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Karadawe is Tegau Eurfron, Tegau "with the golden breast". For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Carados and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431, G. Paris 'Caradoc et le serpent' in *Romania* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.

ii. 228 n. 4. On the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* see now A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 155—163 with pl. 8 and 4 figs., P. Roussel *ib.* 1927 li. 164—169 (summaries by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 230 ability to stare at the sun. On this *Sonnenmotiv* see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin p. 160 n. 2.

ii. 232 n. 6. A convex sardonius (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollon, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 (enlarged)). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-statue.

ii. 243 n. 3. On the *patin* of Philodamos see now W. Vollgraff 'Le péan delphique à Dionysos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 97—208, 1925 xlix. 104—142, 1926 l. 263—304, 1927 li. 423—468 (text reconstituted on p. 465 ff.).

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleus*. O. Broneer in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 564 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜ[---]Η(ΖΝ)Ν again associating Zeus *Bouleus* with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleus* or *Eubouleus* grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damateres and Zeus *Damatrios* of two Rhodian dedications ((1) found by the Danish excavators on the *akropolis* of Lindos [Ἀϋαδᾶς. Δαματέρων καὶ Διὸς Δαματρίων, (2) found at *Siana* in Rhodes Ζευσιβίου τετραδὶ ἱσταμένου Δαματέρου ὕν κνέουσαν. Both



inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date). Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als *Δαμάρετες*, die m. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische *Cereres* [*Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl.* i. 341, 57 ff.] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [*supra* i. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus *Boulatos*. His cult at Thasos (noted in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 288, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications (G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 57 f. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *prytaneion*, with oval sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἰοτῖνι | Βουλαιῖνι καὶ Δαί | Βουλαιῖνι, no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *theorion*, with rectangular sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἰοτῖνι Βουλαιῖνι | καὶ Δαί Βουλαιῖνι | Στράτων Νεομυρ(δρου) | Πολύτιμος Ὀρθομέ(νου) | Ἀριστέλης Ἀλκ(- - -)).

ii. 260 n. o. On the identification of Augustus with Zeus *Patroios* as evidenced by Pergamene inscriptions see W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 ix. 177—188.

ii. 260 n. o Zeus in connexion with mills. W. Schultz *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreis* Leipzig 1912 ii. 109 with n. 2, Keyssner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1044 f., gr. Kruse *ib.* xvi. 1073, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 643.

ii. 264 Dionysos displaced by Apollon. C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 340 ff. pl. 174. 1 discusses the fragment of a *kalix-kratēr* from Tarentum, now at the Hague, which shows a Doric temple (at Delphoi?) containing a cult-statue of Apollon with bow and *phidle*. Before the temple are seated Apollon (lyre) and Artemis (spears), while beyond the tripod the reverse scene comprises Dionysos (ivy-wreath, *narthex*), a Maenad (timbrel), and a Silenos (*kántharos*).

ii. 268 n. o the earth-goddess riding on a bull. See W. Technau 'Die Göttin auf dem Stier' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 76—103 figs. 1—14 (especially p. 95 f.).

ii. 268 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff *ΕΠΙΦΩΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΛΑ ΕΙΗΤΟΝ* [*Supra* Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sumérien Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tamouz'.

ii. 270 n. 3. L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 174 cites two reliefs published by G. I. Kazarow ('Zum Kultus des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 6 ff. fig. 3 and 'Ein neues Relief des dreiköpfigen Reiters' *ib.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 232 ff. fig. 1) in which the rider-god is three-headed and followed by a male figure grasping his horse's tail. The first, from the district of Plovdiv, is inscribed *κυρίω θεῷ Ἀδλουζέντι Δουζήρου*, | *Ἀδλουζέντι Δουζήρου* (O. Weinreich *ib.* 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 20 n. 4). The second, from *Komatevo* a village near Philippopolis, is inscribed [θε]ῷ Παρθο[ποι]ῷ || [Ἀ]λέξανδρος ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ | [καὶ] τῆς γυναικὸς εὐχαριστήρων (Kazarow *loc. cit.* p. 234), or possibly [θε]ῷ Παρθό[στ]ῳ (Weber *loc. cit.*), with Thracian θ for τ.

ii. 270 n. 5. G. Kazarow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 490 records the proper name Βαφό-βαλς (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bordeaux* iv. 93).

ii. 278 n. 2 the Phrygian formula of execration. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum iii' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlv. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends 'that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association' [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 158—169, also Canon E. C. Hudson 'Pisidian Antioch and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in *Theology* 1938 xxxvi. 230—236]. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlv. 29 ff. appends a few notes. He objects to Calder's acceptance of Kretschmer's rendering *θεῶν καὶ γαιμελῶν* 'heavenly and chthonian gods': 'This...does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: *γαιμελεῖν* βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον φέρειν. The Bosphaz Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite "the gods and the dead" (*akandus*). The dead were deified, and *γαιμελεῖν* must have literally signified "ghost" or "devil" (= Cp. "printer's devil" in English).' J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 pp. 128—140 has a handy collection of all the texts. On the Phrygian language in general and its grave-formula in particular see N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 141—153.

ii. 281 Zeus *Dios* with grape-bunches and a plough. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 453 cites W. M. Calder *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1928 i p. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Diounsīs (= Dionysos), gardien de la tombe.'

The reference is to Calder *op. cit.* i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at *Shahr Ören* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Μεῖσος Νῆα ἀνέστησεν κατὰ ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ Διός*. On the shaft are three reliefs: (a) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (b) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (c) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. *Is.* i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at *Kadyu Khan* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Εὐ[δαίμων] | οἰκονόμος Διὶ | Φαριῶ κατὰ ἡγεμονίαν*. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and corn-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 135 no. 2 restored *Εὐ[δαίμων]* and added: 'Eu[daimon?] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma.... About this time another oikonomos, Ca[ndidus?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos' (The dedication is to *ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ*... which halts between Jove and Jehovah...) at Zizyma. Calder *op. cit.* i. 216 f. no. 413. 5 a sculptured *stèle* from *Baghlija* in Eastern Phrygia, which names *Διονύσιος* as guardian of the grave.

ii. 182 Zeus *Dionysos*. D. Detschew in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1934 xxix Beiblatt p. 165 f. fig. 60 (=my fig. 884) publishes a square altar of grey marble, still

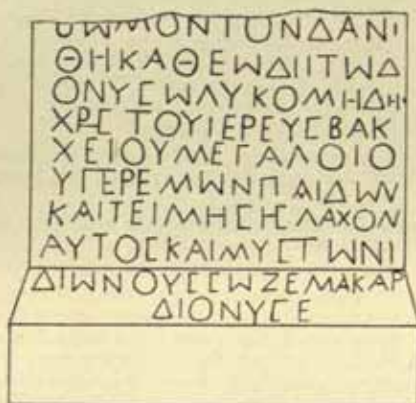


Fig. 884.



Fig. 885.

used to support the table-top in the church of the village *Sarmadish* (Bezirk *Malke-Tirnovu*, Regierungskreis *Burgas*) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: *Βασίλειον τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεῷ Διὶ τῷ Δ[ι]ονύσιω Λευκομήδῃ | Χρήστου λευκοῦ Βασιλείου μεγάλου | ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν παιδῶν | καὶ τεμῆς, ἧς λάχον | αὐτός, καὶ μυστῶν ἰδίῳ, οὗ σῶζε μάκαρ | Διόνυσε*. Detschew *ib.* p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. frag. 235 Abel, 236 Kern ἀγλαὸς Ζεὺς Διόνυσος κ.τ.λ. see *supra* i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 360 pl. 62 (=my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from *Haci Beili* in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, *krater* with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed *Ἐνὲρ τῇ τοῦ κυρίου (?) Καλίσταρος λευκοῦ καὶ διαμυστῆς Ταταρηνῶν | νεανία(ι) Διὶ Διόνυσω ἀνέστησεν*.

ii. 285 n. o (2). Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 p. 213 ff. fig. 4 gives a drawing (inexact) of this relief and its inscription made in 1884.

ii. 285 n. o (4). M. V. Taylor and R. G. Collingwood in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1929 xix. 199 pl. 9 publish a similar *plaque* of base silver, with figures of the three Mother Goddesses in *repoussé* work, found in London, and note other examples from Barkway in Hertfordshire. See also *supra* p. 1100 fig. 878.

ii. 290 n. o the tombstone of Abirkios and Theuprepia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 290 n. o the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson 'The Headless Horseman' (an Indian ballad) in *Folk-Lore* 1914 xxv. 382, H. A. Rose



'Sacrifices of the Head to the Hindu Goddess' (Devi) *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 90—92, Bargheer s.v. 'Kopf' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 203 ff. Cp. A. Delatte 'ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 189—249, *id.* in the *Musée Belge* 1922 xxvi. 255—259, K. Preisendanz *Akephalos der kopflose Gott* Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—80, Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 325 f.

ii. 291 n. 2 *συνκοφάρτης*. K. Latte in *Pauly—Wissowa Real-Enc.* iv A. 1028—1031 demurs to my explanation ('wobei nicht zu sehen ist, wie aus der Abwehr drohenden Unheils der verleumderische Angriff geworden sein soll') and falls back on that of A. Boeckh *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*<sup>2</sup> Berlin 1886 i. 56 ('σ. bezeichne jemand,



Fig. 886.

der um einer Sache von geringem Wert willen eine Anzeige\*erstattet (vgl. etwa ital. ammazzar qualcuno per uno fico "jemand um nichts ermorden")... Andererseits ist die Beziehung auf die Phasis in dem zweiten Teil des Wortes offenkundig und gibt ihm erst seinen Inhalt, denn bei der Phasis erhielt der obsiegende Kläger die Hälfte der Strafsumme oder des eingezogenen Vermögens').

ii. 295 n. 2. A. Carnoy 'Les noms de Déméter et de Coré' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 71—77 would connect *Δημήτηρ* with *γη* and derive *Περσεφόνη* from \**φειρι-φόνη*, 'qui apporte l'abondance.'

ii. 296 Attis and the Kouretes. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 521—524 fig. 1 (=my fig. 886) gives a preliminary publication of a

silver *patra* rescued from oblivion by Miss A. Levi and now in the Brera at Milan. When found at Parabiago in Lombardy it was serving as the lid of a grave-amphora. It shows in fine relief of c. 150–200 A.D. the triumph of Attis. He is seated with Kybele in a car drawn by four lions and accompanied by three dancing Kouretes. Above are the rising Sun and setting Moon with Morning and Evening Stars. Below, Okeanos and a Nereid, with fish showing their heads above water. On the left, two Fresh Water Nymphs with reeds. On the right, Earth with *cornu copiae*, various animals, and a pair of infants. Between, the four Seasons as children. Higher up, Atlas carrying Aion in a zodiacal ring, and an Obelisk twined about with a snake. This cosmic design on a concave circular field is a magnificent specimen of symbolic art, and is to be published with full commentary by Miss Levi in *Opere d'Arte del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* (Roma).

ii. 297 fig. 189. See now J. Leipoldt 'Eine römische Attisfigur' in *Αρχαιολογία* 1926 ii. 51 f. with a good photographic pl., and cp. Attis as a recumbent figure on coins of Kyzikos (C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 443 f. fig. 10).

ii. 298 fig. 190. F. J. Dölger IXΘYC Münster in Westf. 1927 iv pl. 168 gives a photograph of this singular *modius*.

ii. 300. W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. pp. 655–657 with figs. 10–14 publishes the sarcophagus of a priest of Kybele and Attis, found in a large *columbarium* at Porto. The lid shows the priest recumbent, his left hand with five thick rings supporting his head, his right with *δεσμοί* or 'arm-band' holding pine-sprig and rosary. The arm-band is decorated with reliefs of Kybele seated between two standing figures, Attis and Hermes. And at the priest's feet is the usual *kiste*. Two oblong reliefs from the same find-spot represent the same priest with his *insignia* offering fruit before a seated Kybele and holding torches before a standing Attis.

ii. 300 n. 3. Photographs in Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 254 ff. Scala v no. 2 pl. 100, F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1933 iv. 1 pl. 4 (Moscioni no. 20 947).

ii. 305 n. o the Gosforth Cross. See now R. Reitzenstein *Weltuntergangs-vorstellungen* (Sonderabdruck aus *Kyrko-historisk Årsskrift* 1924) Uppsala 1924 p. 41 ff. figs. 2–7, *id.* 'Die nordischen, persischen und christlichen Vorstellungen vom Weltuntergang' in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923–1924* Leipzig–Berlin 1926 p. 160 ff. pls. 2–4 figs. 3–10.

ii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Abercius. See further A. Abel 'Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercius' in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 321–411.

ii. 312 n. 5 *παρά δὲ Ἀνδοῦς ὁ Ζεὺς Ζεῦσις*. A. Nehring in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 588 supports Ζεῦ-ε-ιτ as a Lydianised form of Ζεὺς by quoting *iblim-i-is* and the like from Lydian inscriptions.

ii. 313 ff. the *Kabeiroi*. The fullest survey of the facts is that given by O. Kern 'Kabeiros...und Kabeiroi' in Pauly–Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1399–1450, with supplementary notes by the same author 'Καβειραῖοι' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916–1919 xix. 551–553 and 'Noch einmal Karkinos' *ib.* 1920–1921 xx. 236.

G. Pansa 'La leggenda di traslazione di S. Tommaso apostolo ad Ortona a mare e la tradizione del culto cabirico' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École française de Rome) 1920 xxxviii. 29–62, carrying further the contention of J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 20–41 that S. Thomas as 'twin' brother of Jesus was essentially Dioscuric.

A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 163 would identify *Kabeiroi* with *Khabiriyas* the body-guard of the Hittite kings, and so derive them ultimately from the *Khabiri* or 'Comrades' of Babylonia. He notes an early deified Hittite king *Khasamilis* as = *Kasmeilos*.

ii. 314 f. Axiokersa, Axiokersos, Axieros. O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 121 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at *Rakhmani* in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 41 with fig. 25, a, b, c].

E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 225 is content to explain 'Αξιοκέρπος and 'Αξιοκέρρα as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (δῖα) with the sickle-knife' and 'Αξίερος as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victims.'

A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 162 connects 'Αξιο-κέρπος, 'Αξιο-κέρρα with Hesych. κέρρα = δῖον and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted *supra* ii. 315 n. 1) cj. ἀμῆσαι or φαμῆσαι for γαμῆσαι cod. and γάλλος for γάμος cod.



G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 60 n. o discusses coins of Odessos with legend θεοῦ μεγάλου ΚΥΡΣΑ (*supra* ii. 1126 figs. 952, 953) and the possibility that Κύρσα = Κέρσα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to Ἀξιοκέρση (sic). *Id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 249 is even more venturesome (κύρσιος Σάραρις) or Σα(βάσιος)!. But A. Salač 'Le grand dieu d'Odessos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was \*Δαρξάλας or Δερξέλας, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For Ἀξί-ερος as the 'Axe-Eros' cp. Anakr. frag. 47 Bergk<sup>4</sup>, 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl *op.* Hephaist. 12. 4 p. 39, 5 f. Consbruch μεγάλη δητὲ μ' ἔρωι ἐκοψεν ὥστε χαλκεύς | πέλεκυι with the comments of E. Schwyzler 'Axt und Hammer' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 314—318 (πέλεκυι = σφυροπέλεκυι, a smith's axe serving also as a hammer).



Fig. 887.



Fig. 888.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus Pantheus (L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 li. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Δι' Ἡλίου Μεγάλου Παρθένου Σαράπιδι = Corp. inscr. Lat. viii no 12493) or Iupiter Pantheus (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5423 (Nescania Baeticae) Iovem Pantheon Aug. | cum aede et tetrastilo solo [p]ub. | etc.). A bronze from the Gréau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17 no. 4 'Zeus panthée?', De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 71 no. 482 pl. 36 (=my fig. 887): height 0.192m), shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a *stephane* surmounted by three 'fleurons.' Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements* Cinquième Série 1873 v. 322—327, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 8 no. 2 'Zeus Panthée') shows a nude Iupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings

of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the *cornu copiae* of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish *armilla* on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).

ii. 321 n. 1. A votive inscription to Zeus 'Ἐριόδωρος in Messenia is noted by M. N. Tod in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xlv. 89 and by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 196 after N. S. Valmin in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1928—1929 iv. 1 ff. no. 22 (at *Griakampoi*) Διὶ Ἐριόδωρα.

ii. 322 ff. Janiform deities. C. N. Deedes 'The Double-headed God' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 194—243 with 30 figs. attempts a conspectus of the evidence (Sumerian, Syro-Hittite, Greek, Etruscan, Italian, Celtic, mediaeval).

ii. 326, 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks. V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. *Ead.* 'The Candlemas Bear' in *The National Review* 1931 xvi. 235—244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 352 f. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlemas Bear is escorted by from four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leathern belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

ii. 328 ff. the Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the *carmen Saliare* by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917—1918), and P. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacherler in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1925 ccv. 84.

ii. 335 Ianus. O. Huth *Janus* Bonn 1932 pp. 1—96 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 329—331. Huth finds the essence of Ianus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign ☉. But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign ☉ was not runic (? cp. H. Arntz *Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmäler* Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

ii. 337 n. 4 *divum deo*. Cp. Tertull. *ad Scap.* 4 (i. 782 A Migne) tunc et populus adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit. *Supra* p. 327.

ii. 339 n. o *lūnae* = 'lunae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1056 f.

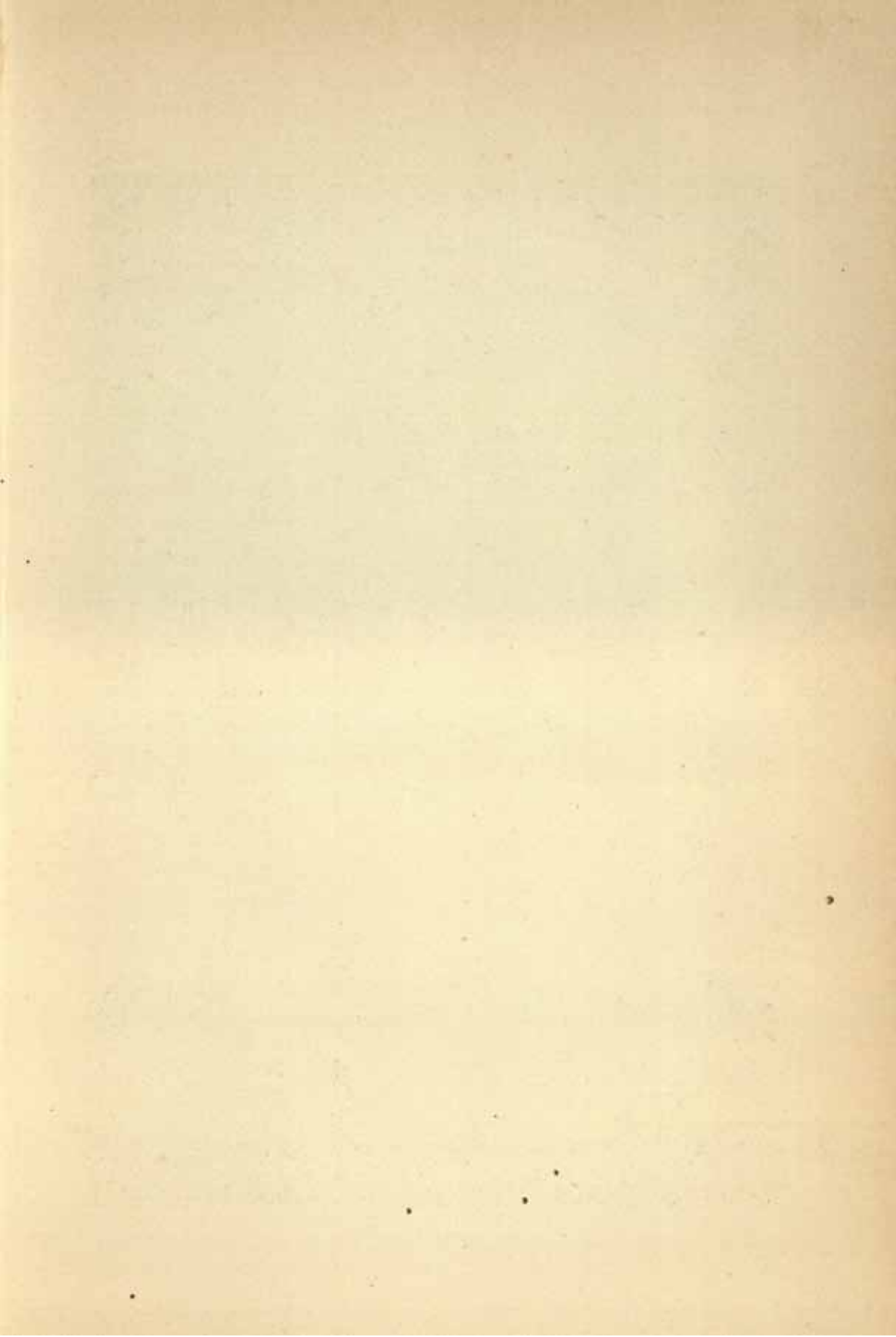
ii. 340 n. o *Daemonium*, quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1092 f. 'Acta Symphoriani Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [*ib.* Amstelædami 1713 p. 82]. *Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compita currens et silvarum secreta perlustrans incredulis hominum mentibus zizanias tribulos sceleris sui arte disseminat, Triviae sibi cognomen dum triviis insidiatur obtinuit.*' Cp. S. Eitrem in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 32 n. 1 'das daemonium meridianum, das die Christen Diana nannten.' It is tempting to suppose a mere confusion between meridianum and Diana. But see V. Alford—R. Gallop 'Traces of a Dianic Cult from Catalonia to Portugal' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 350—361 (p. 358 f. 'Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word *jana* in all its purity... In Sardinia *jana* means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect *janara* means nymph... The old Spanish form was *jana*. In the Montafia de Santander we find *janassiana*... In Asturias... *Dianu* means Devil, and the *Diano Burlón* is a kind of faun. In Galicia... the Devil is again o *Diano*... In Portugal... *Diãbo*. In the Algarve... women called *jas* or *janis* for whom it used to be customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.).

ii. 343 Zari 'Ἐλευθερίος = Antoninus Pius. W. Peck in the 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1931 p. 114 quotes O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1881 no. 56 = F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Historische griechische Epigramme* Bonn 1926 no. 118 *Καίσαρι ποταποῦ-δωρι καὶ ἀνελπίων κρατέσσι | Ζαρί τῷ ἐκ Ζαυῶς πατρὸς Ἐλευθερίου*...

ii. 343 Zāves. Cp. Epiphani. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) Ζήτες δὲ οὐχ εἰς ἡ δόο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες γενόμενοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. κ.τ.λ.

ii. 344 n. o Δεός. This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of c. 400 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1908 xxix. 461—466 with pl., C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 67, 293), which bears the painted inscriptions ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΣ ΗΑ ΒΡΑΣΙΑ | ΗΩΣ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ (would-be iambic) and ΔΕΥΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΣ | ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ.







*a* Marble head of Pan from Greece, now in the British Museum.

*b*  
*See page 1131.*



ii. 347 ff. Πάν ὁ μέγας τέθηκεν. The literature of this famous episode (*supra* ii. 349 n. 20) should include I. Nyman *De magno Pane Plutarchi* Upsaliae 1734; W. H. Roscher 'Die Legende vom Tode des grossen Pan' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1892 cxlv. 465—477; E. Nestle 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 156—158; O. Weinreich 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' *ib.* 1910 xiii. 467—473; A. Taylor 'Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan' in *Washington University Studies Series* iv 1922 (Humanistic Series x. 1) pp. 3—102 (discusses 246 variants and concludes that 'the voice of loud lament is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation'), A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1923 xxxvii. 164 (cp. Hdt. 6. 105); O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 328—330; G. Méautis 'Le grand Pan est mort' in the *Musée Belge* 1927 xxxi. 51—53 (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 12 ἐνίοι δὲ Παμώλην τινὰ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις ὀδρενόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς φωνῇ ἀκούσθαι διακελευόμενης ἀνείπειν μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΤΕΡΤΕΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ).

Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick *Vergriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 147 'Πάν ist nicht "der Hirte," sondern der "Papa," gehört zu den "Lallnamen" Kretschmers 334 f. [P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Πά ist Μα, in Arkadien als Μαῖα, Mutter des Hermes Μαῖαδῆος erhalten.' If so, Pan was in effect another Zan, and I had no need to postulate that the former had stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a parallel figure to Zan the Great. Pan the goatherds' god took the form of a goat just as Zan the oxherds' god took that of an ox (*supra* ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutarch's narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the dead Zan.

On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the *amende honorable* by devising a type which gave the god an almost Zeus-like majesty and yet by retaining curved horns and prick ears, a shag of hair and a twist of lip, contrived to remind men that after all he was but a glorified goat. H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1931—1932 vi. 33 f. pl. 16 was able to publish a head in Pentelic marble (height 8½ inches) recently acquired in Greece. Relying presumably on the proportions of the eye, the absence of overlapping lids, etc. he ventures to say: 'the style recalls some of the heads on the Parthenon metopes. It certainly cannot be dated later than the latter part of the fifth century.' My pl. lxxx is from the official photographs.

ii. 347 n. o Hipta. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1926 xv. 76 ff. takes Hipta to be an Asiatic mother-goddess = the Hittite *Hepit*.

ii. 350 Dodona. For the recent excavations at Dodona see G. Sotiriadis 'Fouilles de Dodone' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1921 xxxiv. 384—387 and D. Evangelides in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐρ.* 1930 pp. 52—68, *ib.* 1931 pp. 83—91, *ib.* 1932 pp. 47—52 and as reported by E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 220 f., by D. M. Robinson *ib.* 1933 xxxvii. 128, by H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 l. 242, *ib.* 1931 li. 194 f., *ib.* 1932 lii. 245, *ib.* 1933 liii. 182, by H. Megaw *ib.* 1936 lvi. 147.

ii. 359 ff. the Triumphal Arch. On distyle bases at Delphoi see É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 472—481, *id.* *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 148 f., 164—168, 202—205; F. Courby in *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. i. 44; M. P. Nilsson 'Les bases votives à double colonne et l'arc de triomphe' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 143—157. The origin of the Triumphal Arch is still a bone of contention, not to say a body of Euphorbos: e.g. G. Patroni 'L' origine degli archi trionfali' in *Historia* 1927 i. 3. 3—30 with 3 figs. (criticises G. Spano, E. Löwy, etc. and stresses Etruscan influence), E. Löwy *Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens* Wien 1928 pp. 1—40 with 3 pls. and 89 figs. (summarised in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 170 and in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 249), M. P. Nilsson 'The Origin of the Triumphal Arch' in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 1932 ii. 132—139; I. A. Richmond 'Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 149—174 with pls. 15—19 and 11 figs. (follows Nilsson and urges that the main purpose of the Arch was to serve as a base for statues), H. Petrikovits 'Die Porta triumphalis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii. 187—196 (insists on the religious significance of the victors returning under this Arch, compares the passage of the vanquished *sub iugum*, and the sale of prisoners *sub hasta*, ending with a bibliography of 45 items). Much that is relevant had already been said by A. von Domaszewski 'Die Triumphstrasse auf dem Marsfelde' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 67—82 (= *id.* *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 pp. 217—233 with additional n. by B. Kahle).

- ii. 361 with fig. 254. H. Mattingly in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. iii. pp. ci, 177 f. pl. 31, 6-9.
- ii. 364 the 'yoke' of spears. M. Cary-A. D. Nock 'Magic Spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 122-127 (*sub iugum, sub hasta*, etc.).
- ii. 373 Ianus *Quadrifrons*. A late Etruscan scarab of cornelian, mounted on a gold swivel, shows a bearded head of Ianus *Quadrifrons* wearing a *petasos* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 59 no. 327 pl. 9, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 88 no. 714 pl. 12: from the Castellani collection).
- ii. 381 ff. double herms. R. Lullies *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 66-69 ('Doppelhermen mit nach entgegengesetzten Seiten blickenden Köpfen') argues that this type was originally intended to represent 'Hermes als Totengott' (*ib.* p. 86)—a view questioned by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 330.
- ii. 382 n. 1 double bust of Dionysos. Cp. a fine archaistic double bust at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 151 Dionysos pl. 11).



Fig. 889.

- ii. 385 n. o 'Αργεῖφόντης. Earlier interpretations in O. Neckel 'Αργεῖφόντης' *Progr. des Gymn. Friedland* 1886 pp. 10-12, Sven Linde 'Über 'Αργεῖφόντης, dessen Form und Bedeutung' in *Skandinavisches Archiv* 1892 i. 394-414.
- ii. 386 Odhin's broad hat. H. Naumann 'Breithut' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin-Leipzig 1927 i. 1550-1552 (cp. *ib.* i. 1386 f. 'Blauhütel').
- ii. 388 double busts of Hermes and Herakles. P. E. Visconti 'Ermeracle' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Commun. di Roma* 1872-1873 pp. 97-102 pl. 1. Another of Hermes (*petasos*) and Herakles (lion-skin) at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 267 pl. 19).
- ii. 390 with pl. xxi Janiform *arýballos* of male and female Dionysiac heads. See now J. D. Beazley 'Charinos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 61 (Group N, no. 1 'head of Herakles and woman's head' [?]).
- ii. 392 with fig. 300 double bust of Apis and Isis. H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923-1924* Berlin-Leipzig 1926 p. 183 pl. 3 fig. 6 assigns this bust to the time of Hadrian and regards it as combining the human and animal forms of Hathor. J. Leipoldt in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig-Erlangen 1926 ix-xi p. vi with fig. 25 ('Die Büste 25 ist insofern altägyptisch empfunden, als Isis auch mit einem Kuhkopfe ausgestattet ist (allerdings handelt es sich um eine künstliche Ägyptisierung; es fehlen altägyptische Analogien einer derartigen Isis).') Etc.).
- ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula's second gallery, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and a beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and



grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a *nebris* (W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (*id. ib.* 1931 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (*id. ib.* 1932 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 479). See also *The Daily Telegraph* for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and *The Illustrated London News* for July 4, 1931 p. 19.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 889, *a-c*) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches), which represents *adosis* a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in *s. i* A.D.



Fig. 890.

ii. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge *The Grotesque in Church Art* London s.a. p. 112 ff. ('Masks and Faces') gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Cambridge 1932 xxxii. 35 f. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures 'some survival from pre-Christian times.' Finally Lady Raglan 'The "Green Man" in Church Architecture' in *Folk-Lore* 1939 l. 45-57 figs. 1-17 concludes that classical and quasi-classical types (figs. 10-13) were from *s. xiii.* onwards influenced by 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.' In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, *a, b*) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

ii. 405 ff. *Artemis Ephesia*. On all the types of this goddess see now the excellent monograph by H. Thiersch *Artemis Ephesia* (*Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1935 Folge iii Nr. 12) Teil i Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler. Mit 76 Tafeln u. 4 Textabbildungen.





that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated or even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesos (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 58).

E. Kornemann *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. P. Charlesworth in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 143—146.

J. Carcopino 'La louve du Capitole' in the *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* juillet 1924 pp. 3—19 and octobre 1924 pp. 16—49.

R. P. Eckels *Greek Wolf-lore* Philadelphia 1937 pp. 1—88 concludes with a discussion of wolf-nurses.

ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 1926 x. 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name *Zēthos* may be simply *Set*, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as *Σῆθ* [Where? Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 41, 49, 62 says *Σῆθ* without variants. A.B.C.]. A. H. Krappe in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 240 f. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau 'Idoles en pierre provenant de l'Asie Mineure' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 193 ff. pls. 44—48 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at *Kül-Tipt* ('La colline de cendres') near Kaisareia in Kappadokia, close to Mt Argaios, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pl. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. *Id. ib.* p. 200 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. *Id. Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 824 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocian idols c. 1000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes c. 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocian goddess is given in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 i. 284 f. fig. A, and of a Syrian group *ib.* Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 109 fig. G. On the significance of polyccephalic gods in general see L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 172—175.

ii. 448 n. o the sickle of Kronos. See now *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1927 xvii. 65 no. 2080, 71—73 (= Kallim. *frags.* 502 + 172 Schneider) with A. S. Hunt *ad loc.*

ii. 448 n. 2 the sickle of Zeus. See F. Dornseiff 'Die Sichel des Zeus und Typhon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 754—757 fig. 1. *Id. Die archaische Mythenerzählung* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 p. 24 ff. cites *inter alia* a Hittite parallel noted by W. Porzig—'Illuyankas und Typhon.' Cp. G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 pp. 87—91 ('Il Mito del dio della tempesta e del serpente Illuyankas').

ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollon. Wilamowitz' view that Apollon came from Lykia is energetically attacked also by E. Bethe 'Apollon der Hellene' in *ANTIΔΡΟΝ Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel...gewidmet* Göttingen 1923 pp. 14—21.

F. Poulsen *Delphische Studien* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser viii, 5) København 1924 pp. 3—40 ('Apollon und Asien') suggests that the name *Apollon* is to be explained by the Babylonian terms *apsu* 'the Firstborn' and *apsu alaridu* 'the Firstborn Son,' a fixed epithet of kings in honorific inscriptions. Poulsen sees in Apollon a blend of Šamaš, god of the sun, of wisdom, of law, with Marduk, who as symbolising sunlight fought Tiamat the dragon of darkness. Hence the lunisolar calendar, the ritual number seven, the *omphalos* (cp. the Babylonian *kudurrū*), etc.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 90 f. thinks it possible that the Hellenic Apollon was a blend of (a) a Creto-Anatolian god and (b) a Hyperborean god—each called *Apollon*.

L. Weber 'Apollon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1933 lxxxii. 165—191, 193—229 contends that Apollon, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson *Min. Myc. Rel.* p. 296 f. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence *via* Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosphoros by the Mysians and Teucrians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Makedonia, and Thessaly to Delphoi. Homeric *epos* represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Aeolians in Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphoi.

ii. 460 n. 2 (b) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the beak with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 96 f. fig. 66, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

ii. 462 n. o fig. 362 Zeus drawn by eagles on a disk from Tarentum. Other examples at Trieste and Berlin (P. Willeumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 l. 43 no. 78).

ii. 464. C. Picard 'La Crète et les légendes Hyperboréennes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 349—360 holds that the sacrifice of asses and other 'Hyperborean' tales belonged originally to Crete, and were transferred to the north only when Crete had been captured by northern invaders. Unconvincing.

ii. 469 n. 1 huius folia noctis et lucis imaginem declarant. Miss G. R. Levy 'The Oriental Origin of Herakles' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 44 well compares Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12. 11  $\delta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\pi\iota\ \kappa\rho\alpha\tau\iota\ \phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \eta\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\acute{o}\kappa\tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$ .

ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet hurling a thunderbolt. A silver *statér* of Corinth, struck c. 338—300 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 308 pl. 12, 19. There is a second specimen of the type in *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. o. G. A. Snyder 'De symbolica Phaethontis fabulae interpretatione apud Romanos' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1927 lv. 401—409 claims that in Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (*Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 210, cp. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky 'Zum Phaethon des Euripides' in *Wiener Studien* 1932 l. 1—25 puts the play late in Euripides' career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scavizziari *Il Mito nel FAETHON di Euripide* Napoli 1937 pp. 1—80 includes a pl. of the Ostia sarcophagus.

ii. 483 the *kiskanû*-tree. F. P. Dhorme 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie' in the *Revue biblique internationale* Nouvelle série 1907 iv. 272 ff. shows that in the time of Gudea (c. 2600 B.C.) the Babylonians believed in two trees planted at the entry of heaven, *gil-ti* the 'tree of life' and *gil-kd-an-na* the 'tree of the gate of heaven.' He says: 'Le *gil-ti* ou "arbre de vie" ne sera autre-que le *kiskanû*, connu sous le nom de *gil-gan-abu*.' Dhorme is followed by A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 4. See now S. Langdon 'The Legend of the *kiskanû*' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1928 pp. 843—848. Miss N. Perrot *Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam* Paris 1937 pp. 1—143 with 32 pls., G. Lechler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 352 f.

ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of ἀπῆλλος is discussed by F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an 'apple'-god. Rendel Harris' view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1921 lxxxiii. 196—200. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. *Rira bien qui rira le dernier*.

On Demeter Μαλοφόρος at Megara see K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinous were published by E. Gåbrici in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 67—91 figs. 1—33, and we have now the same author's sumptuous monograph 'Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 1—419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 529—539).

*The Times* for Oct. 8, 1926 p. 11 in a report by J. Borozdin on 'Excavations in South Russia' notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovsky in 1924 of Apollon's temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 493 n. 2 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade' in *The Geographical Journal* 1925 lxxvi. 481—507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only 'The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.'

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboreans. Rendel Harris 'Apollo at the back of the North Wind' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 229—242 includes chapters on 'The prehistoric



amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy *Troy and Paonia* New York 1925 pp. 196—210 returns to the subject with a further section on 'The Hyperboreans.' C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1928 lviii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians devoid of all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix-hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river... Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the Herodotean Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasiae-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States... Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically "Hyperborean," but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed Hyperborean connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 126 and by M. Cary *ib.* 1929 xliii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. *h. Del.* 283 f. οἱ μὲν τοὶ καλὰ μῆν τε καὶ ἱερὰ δῶράματα πρῶτοι | ἀσταχῶν φορέουσιν, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose haulms served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (*Osterei*) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (*supra* ii. 498 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (c. 1860 A.D.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first tern's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as *Tangata-Manu*, 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet *L'île de Pâques et ses mystères* Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).

ii. 496 n. o. *fin.* C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 285 n. 1: 'Pour le nom des Perphères d'Hérodote (iv, 32), compagnons des Vierges hyperboréennes, on comparera maintenant l'Hermès Perphéaios d'Ainos, sculpté par le Dédalide Épeios, constructeur du Cheval de Troie: un papyrus récent l'a révélé.' Mr H. J. M. Milne kindly refers me to M. Norsa—G. Vitelli ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ di poemi di Callimaco in un papiro di Tebtynis Firenze 1934 p. 45 f. col. vii, 32 ff. Ἐρμῆς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνείων θεὸς Περφεραῖος Ἐρμῆς ἐν Αἰνῶι τῇ πόλει τῇ Ὀράκῃ τιμᾶται. ἐντέθεν Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρείου ἱππὸν ἰδημοῦργησεν Ἐρμῆν, ὃν ὁ Σκάμανδρος πολὺν ἐνεχθεὶς κατέσυρεν· ὃ δ' ἐντέθεν προσηνέχθη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἰνῶι θάλασσαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἀλιεῖσθαι οἱ τινες ἀνέλεικσαν αὐτὸν τῇ σαγήνῃ. δρε <δὲ> ἐθέσαντο αὐτὸν, καταμεψάμενοι τὸν βόλον πρῶτον μὲν σχίζειν τε αὐτὸν <—> καὶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦντον ἔφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὥμον παίσαντες τραύματα τόπον ἐργάσασθαι, διαμπερὲς δὲ ἥσθησαν· καὶ ὄλον αὐτὸν καίειν ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῷ περιέρρει. ἀπειπότες <ὀν> κατέρριψαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖθις ἰδκτυνολέκυσαν, θεὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῶι προσήκοντα καθιδρόσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆραντό τε τῆς ἄγρας ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον αὐτῷ π.\*[\*\*\*\*\*]\* (πρὸς ἐλθῶν?). τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρῆσαντος εἰσιδέξαντο τῇ πόλει καὶ παραπλησίως τ[οῖς θεοῖς] ἐτίμων. Cp. R. Pfeiffer 'Die neuen ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten' in the *Sitzungsber. d. bay. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1934 x. 29 f.

ii. 500 Phoibos. W. Schmid 'Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 217—223 tries to persuade us that Φοῖβος is a metrical substitute for Φέβος!

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 37—49, 168—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic celt with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 304—309 with 2 figs. It is a polished celt of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesos, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of s. iv—v A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting its own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged Gorgoneion (?). 'He is flanked by

two tall sceptres with animal-headed(?) tops, and surrounded by words of power: ΑΙΑΟΥΑΗ ΠΑΙ ΖΗΘ | ΦΕΛΕΩΣΑ | ΙΑΩΟΥΗΕ ΓΑΒΑΩΘ | ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ || ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑ | ΧΑΜΑΡΕΙ || ΓΕΕΝΓΕΝ | ΦΑΡΑΝΓΗΕ || ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ | ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΕΥ.

ii. 512 sliced neolithic celts with added inscriptions. A large oblong axe (?) of brownish green jade, formerly in the collection of J. Martinek, Shanghai, and now in my possession, has been sawn lengthwise and bears on the exposed surface an inscription in archaic Chinese characters, which—Mr A. Waley kindly informs me—are an extract from the *Analects* of Confucius reading: 'Gentlemen use it (inner power, "virtue" in the sense "potency"). Small men use force.' The *Martinek Sale Catalogue* (Messrs. Puttick and Simpson Dec. 13, 1929) p. 8 no. 67 refers this piece to the Han period.

ii. 513 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at *Arpachiyah*, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 pp. 21—58 ('Die Doppelaxt in nachkretischer Zeit') adduces a mass of miscellaneous evidence, not always judiciously handled.

ii. 516 n. 6 the *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada*. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1926 pp. 121—132. *Id.* in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 ii. 839—847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesos.

ii. 518 n. 3 the magpie. R. Riegler 'Die Elster im Mythos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 349—353, Taylor 'Elster' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 796—802.

ii. 519 n. 0 the crow. Euphorion *frag.* 65 Meineke, *ap. schol.* Nik. *ther.* 406, Peuckert 'Krähe' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 352—370.

ii. 522 n. 2 the colour red. See now the careful compilation of Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung des roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 (reviewed by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102 and by E. Fehrle in the *Berl. philol. Wech.* Mai 15, 1926 pp. 520—525).

ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 259 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baeza and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 536 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 4½ inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 892 a, b).

ii. 543 the 'hour-glass' ornament on the indigenous pottery of Apulia perhaps derived from the double axe. This is doubtful. Paintings from the rock-shelters of southern Spain, belonging to the Copper Age, show X or the like as the stylised form of a woman (H. Breuil—M. C. Burkitt *Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia* Oxford 1929 p. 84 'Spanish Art Group III').

ii. 544 fig. 419 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and cj. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Müller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühkretischen Kunst?' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of *Knielauf* (*supra* i. 296 n. 6) also points to a post-'Minoan' though still archaic period. Probably the term 'sub-'Minoan' or 'sub-Mycenaean' would best fit the case. (*supra* i. 725).

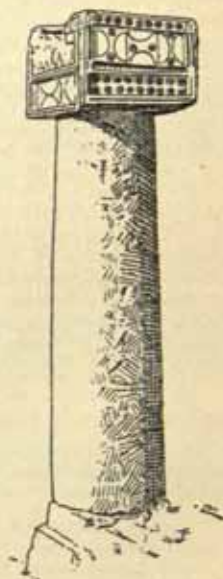


Fig. 891.

One thinks of Daidalos



ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian *netet*. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign 𓏏' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.

ii. 547 n. 2 the sacrificial table. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 32 f.

ii. 548 n. 0 sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, alique optimates et



a

b

Fig. 892.

iudices, variis populis praesidentes,...eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nordén *Östergötlands Bronsålder* Linköping 1925 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppvall in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Brävikén 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in Ebert *Reallex.* iii. 216 with pl. 51, i, H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).

ii. 549 Kronos swallowing his own children. See now M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

ii. 549 *Krónos* as 'Chopper.' R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. 0 attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als \*Kóp-ros = Kelpur

= "Schnitter" und *κρονοβός* "Brunnen". G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 51 quotes parallels e.g. *Káeios*, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root *kāpar*, *kāpah*, ... "The Cutter, Breaker", and *Ἀφροίτη* the "Crusher."

ii. 550 fig. 426. F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 178 f. no. 51 pl. 13, 18 observes that on this coin there is drapery over the back of Kronos' head and a small crown with three peaks, also some object in his left hand.

ii. 550 ff. fig. 428 the dagger-god of Iasili Kaya. See further P. Couissin 'Le dieu-épée de Iasili-Kaya et le culte de l'épée dans l'antiquité' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 107—135 with 21 figs.—an important article on hoplolatry summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 309. G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 970 f. fig. 672. G. Furlani *La religione degli Etruschi* Bologna 1936 p. 59 f. Good photographs taken in two different lights are supplied by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yasilikaya* Bamberg 1934 p. 11 no. 82 pl. 30.

ii. 561 Tyrinnos. A. H. Sayce 'The Phrygian hero Tyris' in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus *Asbamatos*. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Amasia in Bithynia inscribed *Θεῷ | Δευκ-ήνω | Ασβαμαί κα[ι] | Γῆ (?) κυρία κ.τ.λ.* E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 605 treats *Ασβαμαίος* as the equivalent of *δευκίος*.

ii. 570 n. o. *A propos of Celtic divinities* Prof. F. E. Adcock draws my attention to Zeus *Βουσσουρίγιος*, who is mentioned in two inscriptions of c. iii A.D. from Galatia (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 163 ff. no. 1 at *Aktiche Tash* on a block rectangular in section *Δομήλιος | Ηλίας | Δάμανος | κύμης Κλωσάμηνων | νεωκόρος | τοῦ Διὸς Βουσσουρίγιου | ἡν ταυτῷ | κατεσκεύασεν τὸ | μνημεῖον = Corp. inscr. Gr. iii no. 4102. No. 2 at *Karayuk* on a *stèle* surmounted by a fragmentary wreath *ΘΑΔΡ. ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ | ΘΣταρεδίου | κύμης | Ισοτραπίου Ισέρης | καὶ ὑπερῶν | Διὶ Βουσσουρίγιω ἡν | φρονεῖν ταυτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν. Anderson loc. cit. p. 165 adds: 'The epithet Bussurigiōs is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarius, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4621 with n.]. The termination *-mārus*, 'great', is common in Celtic personal names... As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigiōs is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *rí*, gen. *ríge*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names...']**

ii. 578 n. 4. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 399 ff. adds two more inscriptions from Mylasa: no. 4, 15 f. [*δραγρῶναι δὲ τὸδε τὸ*] [*ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὁσογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον*] and no. 5, C 3 f. [*δραγρῶναι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ*] [*ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὁσογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον*]. See further an important paper by A. Laumonier 'Notes sur un voyage en Carie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 31—55 figs. 1—20.

ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 72 n. 2 pronounces this view to be 'fort vraisemblable.'

ii. 583 ff. the name *Poseidōn*. A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 3 ff. regards Poseidon as 'östgriechischer Obergott' and *ib.* p. 7 f. already advances the true derivation of his name: 'Das Wort Poseidon bedeutet vielleicht *Zeὺς δεσπότης*. Man kann von der äolischen Form *Ποσειδᾶν* oder *Ποριδᾶν* (vgl. *Ποριδάρια*, lokr. Stadtname) ausgehen. Dan ist Zeus. Die beiden ersten Silben gehen auf skt. *pati* Herr zurück, welchem Stamme auch griech. *πάτρια δεσπότης δεσποῦσα* angehören. Danach ist Poseidon ursprünglich ein modifizierter Zeus, der Wortsinn: Gott der Herr, Herrgott.'

A. Carnoy 'Étymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon' in the *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1924 iii. 390 f.: 'Πορίσ signifiant "maître" (mis au vocatif *Πορίε*) et un mot *δαῖς* signifiant "eau" et qu'on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.'

G. H. Macurdy 'The Name *Ποσειδᾶν* and Other Names Ending in *-αων* in the Iliad' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1930 li. 286—288 argues that all such names are either Trojan or Northern and postulates a Northern origin for Poseidon.

ii. 587 Zeus *Pilaxos* or *Spilaxos*. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—C. W. M. Cox in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1924 xiv. 71 f. no. 105 pl. 16, 105 a, b publish the back of a limestone seat found at *Ak Kiliise* in Isauria bearing a dedicatory inscription *Ποδαδβίου Πωλεξου ἱδρυς | καὶ ἡ κύμη αὐτοῦ κα[τὰ] τὸν ἑναρ[χ] (?) | ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸς καὶ τ[ὸν] [.....] | Ἄτρου,* which probably means 'Podadbiou (an indeclinable personal name) dedicated this seat of Póloxos and so did the god's village in accordance with a dream: Podadbiou himself and T..... son of Attes set it up.' See further T. Klauser *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike* Münster in Westf. 1927 p. 49 n. 21.



ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 2 doubts the equation  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  = *balag*, citing C. Autran 'La Grèce et l'Orient ancien' in *Babyloniaca* 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 ('*balag* dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de *lyre*, ou *harpe*'), *id.* *Sumérien et Indo-européen* Paris 1925 p. iv n. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring 'Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a  $\pi\omega\sigma\sigma\tau\eta\theta\iota\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$  see also W. Müller in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1919 xxxiv. 93 ff., C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 p. 529 ff., *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani 'Ornamenti astrali e corazze di dei dell' Asia anteriore antica' in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 1931 vii. 43 ff.

ii. 594 the temple of Athena Alka. C. Dugas—J. Berchmans—M. Clemmensen *Le sanctuaire d'Alka Athéna à Tégée au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle* Paris 1924 i. 1—144 with 41 figs. and ii Atlas of 116 pls.

ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec 'Labrys' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 286—307 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humborg *ib.* xii. 314 f. and G. Karo *ib.* xii. 321 deal with  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$  and  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\upsilon\rho\theta\iota\varsigma$ . G. Dumézil 'AABPTZ' in the *Journal asiatique* 1929 ccxv. 237—252 derives  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$  and its congeners ('l'asiatique et égéen  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\upsilon\rho$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho$ ') from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian *lahvari*, 'lance.' Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly taken to be the arms of St George, who mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance ('il leur porte des coups avec sa lance; chacun de ces coups s'accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l'éclair'). Dumézil views the double lance *lahvari* as the lineal successor of the double axe  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ , the essential point being its twofold blade ('force redoublée? perfection? union des sexes?')—a convincing conclusion. H. Güntert 'Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1932/3 Abh. i. 1—49 would relate  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\upsilon\rho\theta\iota\varsigma$  to  $\lambda\alpha\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$  'stone,' and takes  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$  as 'Steinbeil.' But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1934 xxii. 252 f. ('Diese Etymologie scheitert daran, dass  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\upsilon\rho\theta\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\upsilon\rho\theta\iota\varsigma$  immer nur mit  $\beta$ ,  $\lambda\alpha\varsigma\alpha\varsigma$  dagegen nur mit  $\nu$  bezeugt ist, die Bed. "Stein" an die Form mit  $\nu$  geknüpft ist'). See further C. Picard 'Les origines du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 264 f.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennial of Maxentius, i.e. the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus* of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennialia of Maxentius would have fallen in 311, not 312. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennialia in question were ending and that Maxentius' day had not yet come. He is probably alluding to the *Iudi Capitolini*, which were still being held (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1528, L. C. Purser in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 86). I adhere therefore to my view as expressed in the text.

ii. 607 E. Conybeare's suggestion that the *labarum* was derived from the *labrys*. The same solution of the problem was reached independently by E. Harrison, who however—so far as I know—did not publish it.

H. Grégoire 'L'étymologie de "Labarum"' in *Byzantion* 1927—1928 iv. 477—482 comes to the following conclusion: 'La *laurea* en or qui enferme le Christe est l'élément caractéristique du sublime étendard décoré en outre des images *laurées* des pieux empereurs. De même qu'on disait le *dragon* ou l'*aigle*, *draco*, *aquila*, pour l'étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l'aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau *vexillum* à la couronne d'un nom dérivé de *laurea*. Et, de même que le *labarum* n'est qu'une variante du *lauratum*, *laureum* n'est qu'une variante de *laureatum*.'

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. R. Eisler drew my attention (Oct. 14, 1908) to the small axe received by the Essenes when admitted to the order (Ioseph. *de bell. Iud.* 2. 8. 9  $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \delta'\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \beta\acute{o}\theta\rho\omega\varsigma\ \delta\rho\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\omega\varsigma\ \pi\omega\delta\iota\alpha\iota\omega\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\delta\iota$ ,  $\tau\omega\sigma\acute{o}\tau\omega\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \delta\iota\delta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\upsilon\delta\iota\omega\varsigma\ \tau\omega\iota\varsigma\ \nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\psi\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \theta\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\omega\tau\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \epsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\upsilon\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\theta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\iota\omega\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\omega\varsigma$ . κ.τ.λ.).

ii. 613 Simias' poem on the axe of Epeios. W. Deonna 'Les "poèmes figurés"' in the *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 1926 l. 187—193 ('Il s'agit d'un procédé instinctif et universel, ancien et moderne, européen ou oriental, qui n'a qu'une intention: résumer en quelque sorte par une image le sens du texte écrit, donner de

celui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique').

ii. 614 ff. Zeus (?) and the Centaur. J. C. Hoppin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 443 ff. pl. 6 (part of which = my fig. 893) published a proto-Corinthian *ikythos* of the early seventh century at Boston (inv. no. 6508), interpreting the main scene as a Centaur attacked by Herakles (sheathed sword, branch, tree-root). K. F. Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* Paris—Copenhagen 1923 p. 146 f. fig. 109 pl. 22, 2d thinks that we have here an early version of the Lapith v. Centaur myth. E. Buschor 'Kentauren' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 128 f. fig. 1 rightly recognises Zeus with a sword at his side, a sceptre in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left, but would have us believe that the horse-monster is Typhon. To my thinking, this thunderbolt-bearing figure strongly supports our explanation of the axe-bearing figure as Zeus.

ii. 620 Sucaelus the mallet-god. For a Cornish counterpart of Sucaelus see 'Jack of the Hammer,' whose exploits are told by W. Bottrell *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* Penzance 1870 p. 10 ff. He passed as 'a travelling tinkard... hammer in hand,' but proved more than a match for Tom the eight-foot giant-killer. 'The tinkard, taking his black-thorn stick in the middle, made it spin so fast that it looked like a wheel flying round Tom's head and ears.... Tom didn't know the play;—though the few downright blows he gave came down with the force of a sledge hammer,



Fig. 893.

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull's hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.' Etc. See further Keune 'Succellus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 515—540.

ii. 620. Thor's hammer used as a pendant or amulet is well illustrated by J. J. A. Worsaae *Nordiske Oldtøger i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjøbenhavn* Kjøbenhavn 1859 p. 113 fig. 469 and P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 65 ff. figs. 24—26 pls. 17, 2 and 23. (3).

ii. 630. Mrs A. Strong 'Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona' in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1920 ix. 205—213 pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2233 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4182, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Lartius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvinensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.

ii. 633 fig. 542 f. axes backed by a bull. Cp. G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 43 (*supra* p. 884 n. o).

ii. 635 f. Trojan axe-hammers of blue or green stone. H. Schmidt 'Zu den trojanischen



Prachtbeilen' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/fix Arch. Anz. pp. 123—125 (summarised by R. Vallois in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 214 f.), A. M. Tallgren in *Ebert Reallex.* ii. 121 pl. 62, a, b, S. Casson 'Battle-axes from Troy' in *Antiquity* 1933 vii. 337—339 pls. 1 ('nephrite, almost indigo in colour') and 2 ('rich blue lapis lazuli flecked with brown spots and striated').

ii. 637 amber axes. An amber axe from Birka in Sweden is published by P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 73 fig. 30, a.

ii. 637 Cretan double axes. S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 251—254 records important finds made at the cave of *Arkalechori* in a hill  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours from Lyktos. First children and then adults of the neighbourhood discovered in one corner of the cave a mass of bronzes and a pair of small double axes in gold. The authorities hearing of it intervened and appropriated some twenty gold double axes, leaving perhaps another ten in the hands of the rustics. Bronze double axes, knives, and swords were found in considerable numbers, all heaped together in a space of two or three square metres. The small double axes of gold (*ib.* fig. 3 shows four) are decorated with a leaf-pattern which points to the beginning of the 'Late Minoan ii' period (1450—1400 B.C.) or else with engraved lines of a more usual type. A few axes are of silver. The whole treasure had been sealed up by a fall of rock, probably occasioned by an earthquake. But votive offerings continued to be made at the mouth of the cave down to the end of the 'Minoan' age and even later (a few proto-geometric finds?). Marinatos concludes: 'Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Gottheit dieser an Funden bisher reichsten Kultstätte Kretas. Sollte sie nicht die berühmte Höhle des Zeus und der Rhea sein [*supra* ii. 925 n. 1], die manche in Psychrò zu finden glaubten?' Reports in *The Times* of June 29, 1935 p. 13 and in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 354 mention that the recent excavations in the *Arkalechori* district have found hundreds of copper 'Minoan' axes (one with three lines of hieroglyphic inscription (c. 1600 B.C.)), a number of silver axes, and twenty-seven gold double axes with golden shafts. These finds have been taken to the Candia Museum for cleaning. See further Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1. 346 f. fig. 290 (three gold axes, enlarged) and 378 fig. 315 *bis* (four miniature bronze axes). S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 248—254 figs. 3 (gold model of mountain?), 4 (bronze double axe), 6 (the ten hieroglyphic characters of the inscribed double axe) now concludes: 'Da sich aber nach Abschluss der Grabung ergab, dass die Höhle nichts Jüngeres als SM.I enthielt, gehören m.E. auch die goldenen Beile in diese Zeit,' etc. J. D. S. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete* London 1939 pp. 212, 232, 236 pl. 36, 3 (three gold axes).

ii. 641 n. 2. Recent writers on Charon are B. Schmidt 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 79—82, F. de Ruyt *Charon démon étrusque de la mort* Bruxelles 1934 pp. 1—305 with 58 pls. (reviewed by A. Grenier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 ii. 128—131, by F. Pfister in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 28, 1935 p. 1092 f., by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1935 xlix. 24 f. and in *Gnomon* 1935 xi. 278 f.). Schmidt holds that the Etruscans, originally dwellers in Asia Minor, owe their conception of Charon to the influence of Assyrian demons. Rose makes the further helpful suggestion that Charon's mallet or hammer on Asiatic soil was the double axe of a thunder-god, which might well be used by an underground power to produce the subterranean thunders that portended death (cp. *Plin. nat. hist.* 2. 138)—a view anticipated by me *supra* ii. 641.

ii. 642 n. 2 fig. 559. With the upper end cp. the votive terra-cotta *ketels* in the Berlin Antiquarium (H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 76 fig., also the votive marbles in *Svoronos Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 164 nos. 1594 ff., 1821, 2730.

ii. 643 n. 7 designs incised on neolithic celts. O. Tafarli in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 i. 26—28 figures a flat celt of smooth stone bearing an incised quadruped and inscription. This suspicious-looking object is said to have been found at Rădășani, near Folticeni, in Moldavia. Prof. Tafarli deems it to be of neolithic date and comparable with finds at Glozel!

ii. 643 ff. designs incised on double axes of bronze. In a small collection of 'Minoan' double axes I have two which, on account of their decoration, are deserving of special notice.

One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 a, b, c. Length  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion recumbent on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its *provenance*. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours south of Mallia. He adds: 'It comes from a place called Μουφ (the "meeting place"), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour east of the village. There is an EM site on a hill 15 minutes to the north-east called 'Εδύρη or 'Ανεμοκιά, and from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near Μουφ.'

The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete* London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231

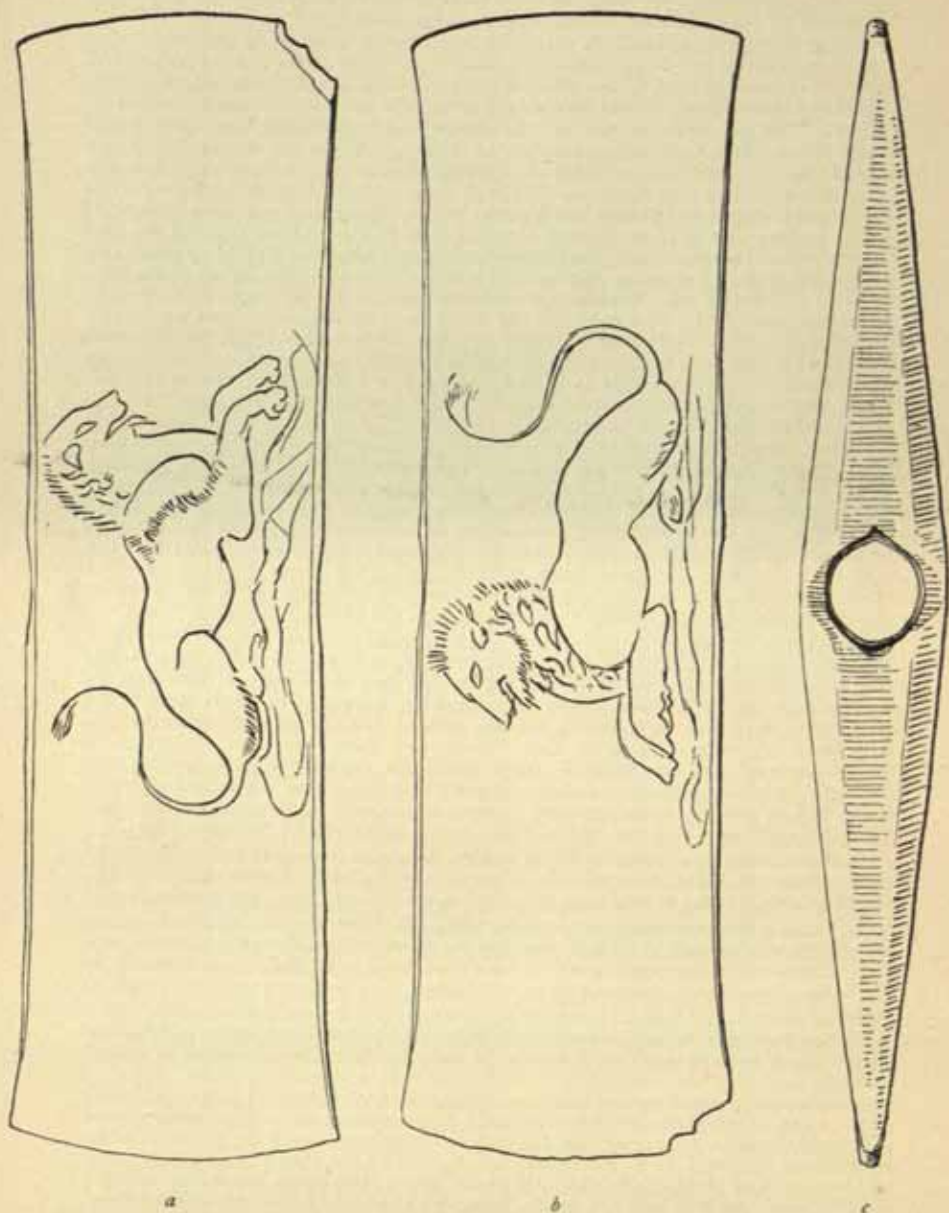


Fig. 894.



fig. 394, *a* and p. 37 pl. 235 fig. 398, *g*. The same feature recurs on occasion in later Cretan art (*supra* i. 528 fig. 394).

The second axe (fig. 895 *a, b*. Length 7½ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with *pointillé* patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (*supra* p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar

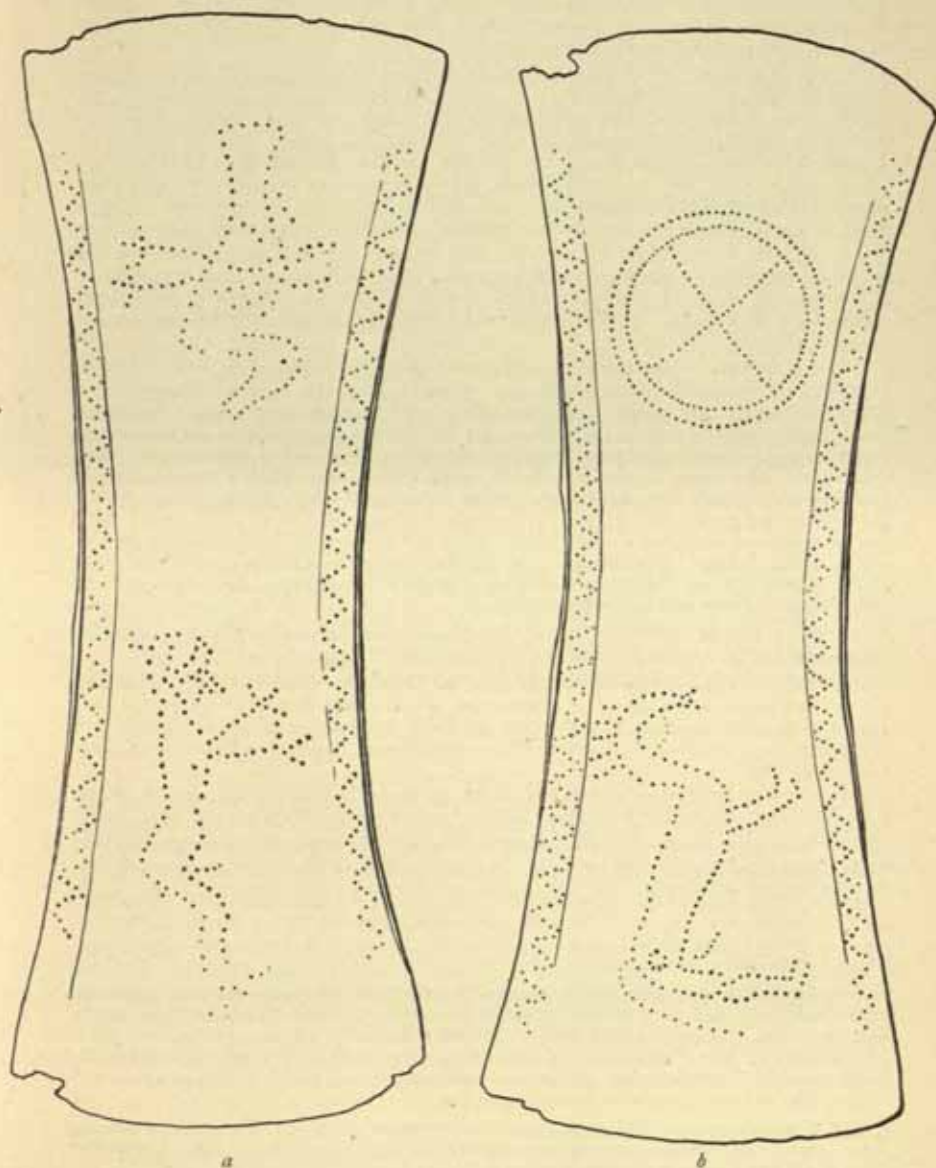


Fig. 895.

equipage as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 563) is now included in P. Fossing *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos* Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin amphora (no. 1684) is figured by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 *Ergänzungsband* p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* Oxford 1927 p. 8 'A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa' (criticised by A. R. Wright in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 656 n. o ingots. C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 1 fl. figs. 1-4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. Cp. *id.* *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in *Ebert Reallex.* iv. 1. 223 with pl. 100, a-d still (1926) speaks of them as 'die doppelbeilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebietes.' H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete* London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 525, a-c is non-committal. But Seltman is clearly right.

ii. 663. W. R. Halliday 'Tenes' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 36-44 insists on 'the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenes with Apollo,' not with Zeus or Dionysos. *Id.* *ib.* p. 39 quotes Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. z.v. Τένες: ... τὸν ἐν Τενίδῳ Ἀπόλλωνα πάλαιον κρατεῖν, but questions its reliability.

ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dölger *IXΘYC Münster in Westf.* 1922 iii pl. 33). A marble altar of z. iii (?) A.D. from Incunus, Phrygia (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 52 fl. no. 846 with 4 figs.), has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (a) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, gallops uphill: above him is inscribed ἀγαθὴ τέχνη. Θεοῖς Ὀρίοις καὶ Δ[ι] καλοῖς Ἡρόφ[ι]λ[ος] | Παῖα ἐχέη. (b) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and cornu copiae stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vine-branch and a large krater. (c) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent-staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ἀσκληῖας καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶς, | οἱ Ἀσκληπιῶ, λαύροι | Κουρραῖνοι. (d) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales (?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.

ii. 665 n. 1. See further K. Tümpel 'Der Karabos des Perseus' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 544-553.

ii. 666 n. 1 Cancer, 'the Crab.' D'Arcy W. Thompson 'The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1899 xxxix. 603-611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was domus Lunae, exaltatio Jovis, sedes Mercurii, etc.

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. Cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1247 f. no. 2328 pl. 78, 12, McClean *Cat. Coins* i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 3, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd. Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina  $\Xi + \Xi$  is the beginning of an artist's name (*Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 29, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exakestidas (*ib.* pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), *Ionice* Exakestides, it is probable that  $\Lambda + \Xi$  on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. For  $\Lambda$  instead of  $\Xi$  see W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 ('Westliche Alphabete').

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck c. 300-200 B.C., copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus. etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Herakles, *Head Hist. num.* 3 p. 279 young Dionysos (?) and Zeus (?), E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysos (?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines *La notion d'androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites* Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1-231 (pp. 216-219 'Résumé et conclusions').

ii. 681 figs. 621-624. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 75



observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodisias the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

ii. 687 rock-carvings of the hafted axe. At the base of Ben Voirlich, not far from the shore of Loch Lomond, a great rock called in Gaelic *Clach nan Tairbh*, 'The Rock of the Bulls,' bears the rough outline of a hafted axe (A. D. Lacaille in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 233 ff. pls. 4 and 5).

ii. 688 ff. n. o. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in *Antiquity* 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs pock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to c. 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in *Germania* 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Althelm and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937 iii. 83—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further *id.* 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in *Wörter und Sachen* N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage* London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.

ii. 692 ff. Tereus. M. Bieber 'Tereus' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 11—18 pl. 2 publishes a sherd from Paestum, now at Dresden, which shows Tereus pursuing Prokne and Philomela with a double axe in his hand (A. D. Trendall *Paestan Pottery* London 1936 p. 127 no. 290 'Tereus (?)'). O. Schroeder 'ΠΡΟΚΝΗ' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 423—436 discusses the development of the myth.

ii. 699 "wine-skin" and "hatchet." 'Y.' in *The Cambridge Review* 1926 xlvii. 268 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΑΣΚΟΣ-ΠΕΛΕΚΤΣ' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lakonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus πλέχει 'σάν ασκί' 'he swims like a wine-skin,' πλέχει 'σάν τσηκούρι' 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk* London s.a. i. 292 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at *Caister-by-Norwich* (Venta Icenorum).

ii. 699 n. 7. On Osthanes see now J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 165—212, ii. 265—356.

ii. 703 n. 2 a hammer thrown to ratify the acquisition of property. K. Künstle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 597 f. says of St Wolfgang (Oct. 31): 'Auf den Wolfgangsbildern, die vom Kloster Mondsee ausgehen, trägt der Heilige fast regelmässig ein Beil oder eine Axt als Attribut. Dies ist aus dem langen Kampfe herausgewachsen, den das Kloster um den Besitz der Gegend am Abersee, die man das "Wolfgangsländ" nannte, gegen Salzburg und das Hochstift Regensburg führte. Die spätere Legende erzählt nämlich, Wolfgang habe, als er im Aberseeforst ein Einsiedlerleben führte, mittelst des Werfens eines Beiles, das in dem später nach ihm benannten Orte niederfiel, den Platz gesucht, wo er eine Zelle und eine Kirche mit eigenen Händen erbauen wollte. Durch diese Handlung hat er für sein Eigenkloster Mondsee von dieser Gegend Besitz genommen. Der Beilwurf ist nämlich ein altgermanischer Rechtsbrauch; er diente zur Ermittlung des Verlaufs einer Grenze und bestimmte die jeweilige Erstreckung des Rechtes auf Grund und Boden. Das Beil wurde so Sinnbild der Besitzergreifung.' Etc.

ii. 704 the spear of Zeus. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 cp. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 5 τὸν αἰχμαρὸν κεραυνόν.

ii. 707 n. 1. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 69 f. no. 17 gives a facsimile of this inscription, and dates it in 68 A.D.

ii. 722 Zeus *Hörkios* at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 274.

ii. 723 n. o Zeus *Skyllos*. An inscription of 120 A.D., found at *Rhotasi* (Rhytion) and now in the Museum at Candia, speaks of a letter restored by a priest of Zeus *Skyllos* and of an imperial rescript, relating to Gortynian trespassers on his sacred domains, which had been engraved on a *stèle* kept in his sanctuary (*Inscr. Cret.* i. 303 ff. Rhytion no. 1, 6 ff. "Αμφοτεροῦ [κατα]ράβειν | ἱεροῦ Διὸς [Σκυλλίου] τῆς | 'Πυρραίου καὶ καὶ Πύργου | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 16 ff. [ἐκ]πορεύειν | προήγειραν -----] καὶ ἡν | φάσκειναι [-----] Διὸς Σκυλλίου κ.τ.λ. with the remarks of M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1931 li. 243 and A. M. Woodward *ib.* 1936 lvi. 97). B. Kock in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 647 s.v. 'Skyllos' and 660 s.v. 'Skyllos.' Further literature cited by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 659 f., including the view of W. Aly in *Alto* 1911 xi. 15 and *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 473 that Zeus *Σκυλλίος* was a sea-god akin to Skylla the sea-monster and Skyllies the diver (*supra* p. 414).

ii. 724 n. o. On oaths that must be taken in the open, not under a roof, see P. Sartori 'Das Dach im Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 234 f., Weiser in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 124.

ii. 725 fig. 660 f. A. Della Seta *Italia Antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 has a photograph of this statue with the arms restored as holding a bow in the right hand, a hawk (?) in the left.



Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The *stèle* of Zeus *Karaidis* at Thespiæ (*infra* on ii. 874 n. 2) has three reliefs—a filleted *bucranium*, a boar's skull, and a boar's jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 262 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Makedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896: scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ ), shows Sarapis (*adlathos*, wreath) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word *ΩΜΟΙΟΝ*. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 12 f. no. 10 pls. 23—25.

ii. 731 Zeus wielding thunderbolt and sceptre. Among the scenes represented on the great *Kalyx-krater* in New York by 'the Nekyia Painter' c. 450—440 B.C. (P. Jacobsthal 'The Nekyia Krater in New York' in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1934—1936 v. 117—145 with 21 figs., P. Friedländer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 20—33 figs. 1—4, G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 168—171 no. 135 pls. 135—137 and 170 (of which pl. 137 = my fig. 897)) is one—lower frieze B—in which Zeus, supported by Hermes, blasts a Giant, presumably Porphyryon (*supra* p. 55 ff. n. 5).

ii. 733 ff. fig. 665 *psychostasia*. The Paris fragment is re-published by J. D. Beazley *Der Kleophrades-Maler* Berlin 1933 p. 26 no. 37 pl. 2 and pl. 30, 6. The subject in general is handled by E. Wüst 'Psychostasia' in the *Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial-Schulwesen* 1929 lxx. 201—211. See also W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 478 ff. with figs. 15 and 16, M. P. Perry 'On the psychostasia in Christian art' in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 1912/13 xxii. 94—105 and 208—218 with 4 pls., W. L. Nash 'The origin of the mediaeval representations





Fig. 897.

of the weighing of the soul after death' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1918 xl. 19—29 pl. 1.

ii. 734 n. 3 the scales of Zeus. Add Kerkidas *melamb.* 4. 24 ff. Powell=2. 24 ff. Knox=1. 16 ff. Diehl *kai mian to talanton o seimōs | asteropayēteras | mēsson tōn 'Olympon' . . . | ὁρθὸν [τεταίρει] | [κ]αὶ νένευκεν οὐδ' αὐμῶ. | καὶ τοῦθ' Ὀμπος | εἶπεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι | 'ῥέπει δ', ὅταν αἰετὶς ἀμαρ, | ἀνδρῶς κυδαλλμοῖς [ἦν].'* πῶς οὖν ἐμὲν οὐκ ἔρεψεν | ὁρθὸν ὡς ζυγοστάτας; | τὰ δ' ἔσχατα Βρόγεια Μουσῶν, | αἴθρια δὲ θῆν λέγειν, | δασὺ (παρα)γῆι τὸ παρ' αἰτοῖς | τῷ Διὶ πλαστ' ἔγγιον with the notes of the three successive editors (I. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 204 ff., A. D. Knox in the Loeb ed. London 1929 p. 196 ff., E. Diehl *Anthologia lyrica Graeca*<sup>2</sup> Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 123. Cp. E. A. Barber in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 6).

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 267 with fig. 56 claims that a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of c. 1300 B.C., found during the Swedish excavations in the upper burial stratum of chamber tomb no. 17 at Enkomi, represents 'Zeus taking the scales of destiny in order to determine the fate of the combatants, a famous scene of the Iliad,' etc. But Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 659 n. 2 fig. 646 justly demurs. The scene is merely commercial, or at most a matter of ransom.



Fig. 898.

ii. 739 ff. early types of Zeus advancing from left to right. C. D. Bicknell suggests to me (Jan. 3, 1934) that a precursor of Zeus advancing with bolt and bird may be seen on a *phthos*-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C., published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 311 figs. 20 and 21 (=my fig. 898), cp. T. B. L. Webster in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1939 lix. 103 fig. 1. Pl. lxxxii is from a photograph procured for me from H. G. G. Payne through the kind offices of my old pupil Mr E. J. P. Raven. The lid shows a nude male figure advancing to the right with a triple lightning-fork in his right hand, a bird on his left. Before him is a tripod, on which is another bird with a third on a stone beside it. Beneath the tripod a human head rises from the ground (as central support of the tripod: *supra* ii. 193). Marinatos comments: 'Es handelt sich wohl um eine mythologische Szene.' But it is possible that the 'tripod' was meant for an altar, and that the head seen on the face of it marks it as the altar of the advancing god. The interpretation is very uncertain.

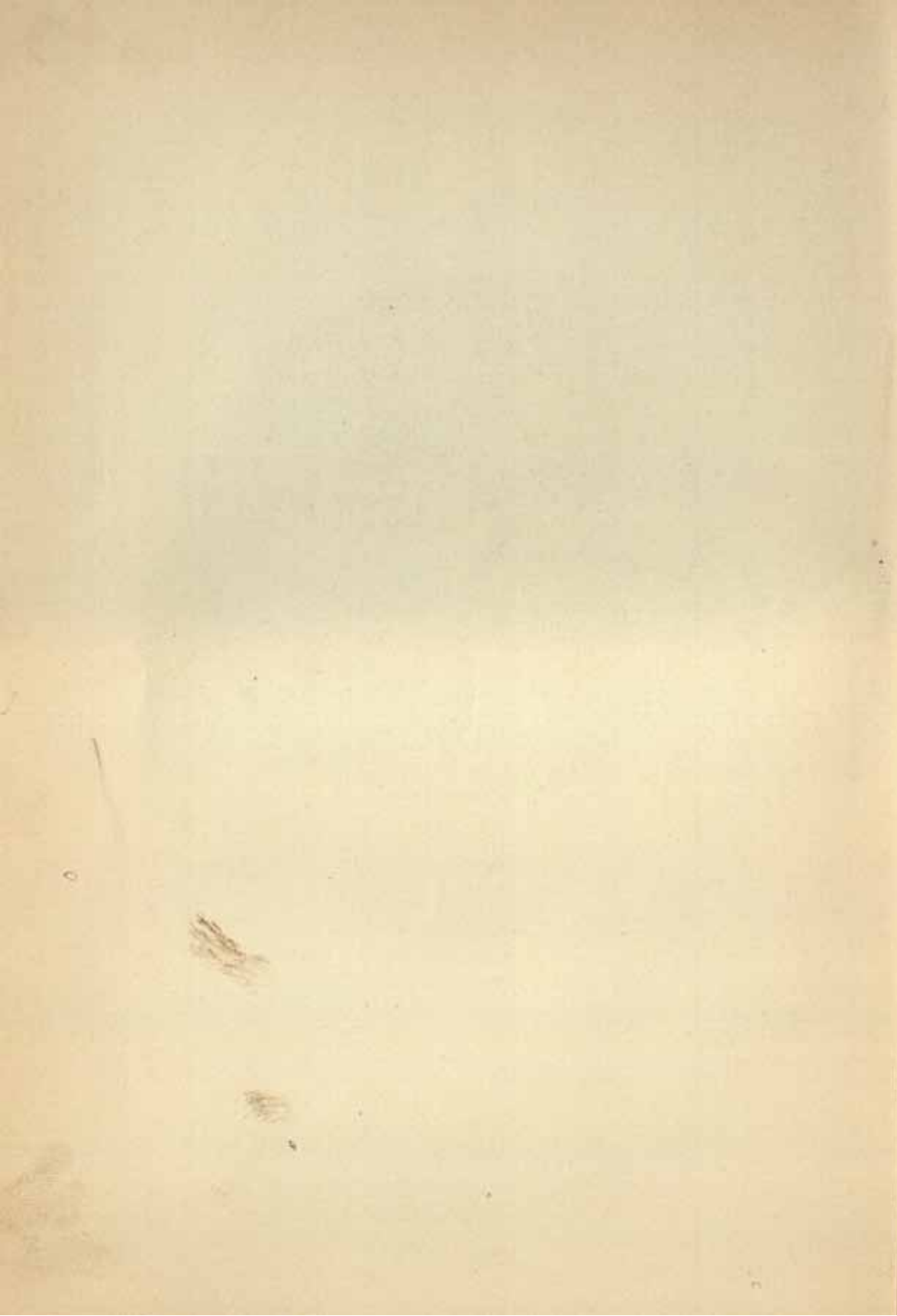
A bronze statuette (height 0.165 m.: bright green patina), found near Epidauros (?), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed *HVBRI[Σ]ΤΑΣ|ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ*. Peloponnesian work of 600—550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 167 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Fröhner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 (=my fig. 899) ('Un aigle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'ailleurs perforée'), Reinach *Rep. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*





*Pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C.:  
Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird.*

*See page 1148 and page 1150 fig. 898.*





Leipzig 1928 xiii./xiv. p. ix fig. 116 ('um 460 v. Chr.'), W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 pp. 95 (c. 550 B.C.), 148 f., 153 pl. 32, a. Fröhner's facsimile of the inscription is repeated in *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1476).

Between April 1926 and September 1928 a magnificent bronze god was fished up piecemeal from a depth of more than 25 fathoms in the sea off Artemision. It seems to have formed part of the cargo on board a ship, which was carrying barrels of late



Fig. 899.

Hellenistic style from northern Greece towards Rome, but foundered in a gale off the upper end of Euboea. If so, the statue had probably been pillaged from some temple in Thessaly or Chalkidike or even Thrace. After careful cleaning from accretions and corrosions, the whole figure (c. 2.10<sup>m</sup> high) proved to be a nude bearded god striding forwards with right arm drawn back and left arm outstretched—one of the most impressive of all Greek statues (Ch. Karouzos 'The Find from the Sea off Artemision' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 141—144 figs. 1 and 2 pls. 7 and 8, *id.* 'Ο Ποσειδών του 'Αρτεμίσιον' in the *Αρχ. Δελτ.* 1930—31 xiii. 41—104 figs. 1—42 pls. 1 (=my fig. 900)—5, H. G. Beyen *La statue d'Artemision* La Haye 1930 pp. 1—55 pls. 1—13 with further bibliography p. 1 n. 1). Several problems arise: (i) To what period, school, and sculptor

should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (*supra* ii. 739 ff., 1222 f.) and may be dated c. 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Sicyonian school; Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Sicyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a

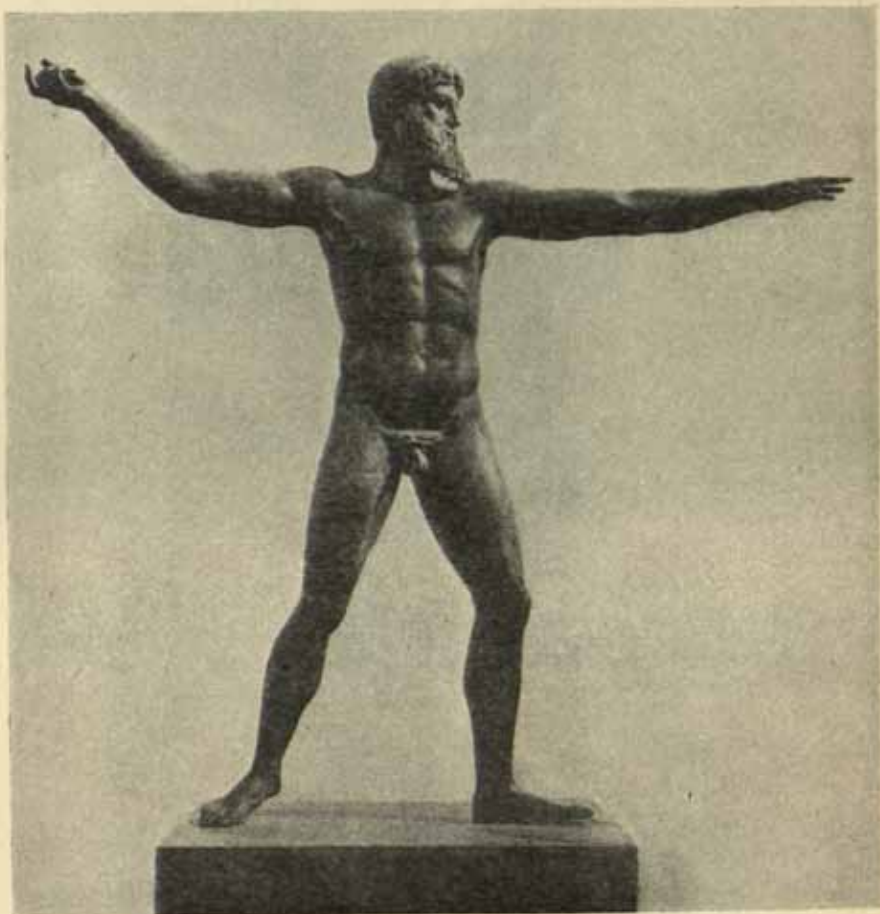


Fig. 900.

tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München*<sup>2</sup> p. 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.



Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a *chlamys* over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. *supra* ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762—764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (*supra* p. 736). J. Jüthner,



Fig. 901.

however, in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1937 lxii. 136—148 decides for an athlete hurling his *akónion*!

ii. 741 Zeus *Ithomatas*. C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (*supra* ii. 794 f. fig. 757), 'which should be dated *ca.* 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the Zeus *Ithomatas* on coins of Messenia from 369 B.C. onwards (*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxii, 1, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messenians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at

Ithome, and not at Naupactus after 455 B.C. This agrees with other dated works by the sculptor and does away with the need either for inventing a younger sculptor of the same name, or for assuming his unnatural longevity.'

ii. 745 n. 4. F. Matz 'Ein Zeuskopf in Villa Borghese' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlv. 1-31 with figs. 1-21 and pls. 1 and 2 reaches the following



Fig. 901.



conclusions (p. 31): 'der Zeuskopf Borghese ist der nächste Verwandte des Kasseler Apoll. Kopiert ist er nach einer Bronzestatue des stehenden Gottes, der mit der Linken das Zepter aufstützte und in der gesenkten Rechten den Blitz hielt. In demselben Verwandtschaftsverhältnis wie zum Kasseler Apoll steht der borghesische Kopf zu dem des olympischen Zeus. Auch der Kasseler Apoll und der Zeus Borghese sind also Schöpfungen des Phidias. Jener ist in den fünfziger Jahren, dieser in dem Jahrzehnt zwischen 455 und 445 entstanden. Die engen Beziehungen, die zwischen dem olympischen Zeus und dem Zeus Borghese bestehen, sind entscheidend für die Frühdatierung des olympischen Zeus und für seinen Ansatz vor der Parthenos.'

ii. 746 n. 2 pl. xxxii, 1 silver statuette of Zeus. A. W. Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 489 ff. fig. 6 (=my fig. 901) illustrates a silver bust of 'Jupiter,' which was found in 1924, in a crushed state, at a Roman station on the Little St Bernard ('Mons Minoris Jovis') together with a patterned silver ribbon and a figure of Hercules within the front of a small shrine, likewise of silver (P. Barocelli in the *Nat. Scavi* 1924 p. 391). The bust has now been restored and installed in the Museum at Aosta. The thunderbolt in relief on the right side of the chest implies that the silversmith was copying some statue of the god with that attribute in his right hand.

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt 'Anxius und Anxur' in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volscian Iupiter *Anxurus* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 640 fig., *id.* in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2653) and supports the derivation from *ἄνω, ἄνωος* already given by Serv. in *Verg. Aen.* 7. 799 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxurus dicebatur, quasi *ἄνω ἐν ποσὶ*, *id.* est sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rasisset, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur, cp. *Akron* in *Hor. sat.* i. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi *in herbis Iuppiter colitur*.

ii. 752 the eagle of Zeus. R. J. H. Jenkins (June 3, 1930) notes: 'With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anni-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al 'Ubaid, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.' See C. L. Woolley *The Sumerians* Oxford (1929) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town *Tavium* 'von einer vorphrygischen Stammform *Tav* = Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt *Tieior* (Strabo [542 f., 565]), kontrahiert *Tium* (*Tios* Aelian [*de nat. an.* 15. 5], *Tios* Ptol. [5. 1. 7]) von der phrygischen Namensform *Tiv*-, armen. *tiv* "Tag" = gr. *Δις*.'

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Phidias' career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold 'Das Ende des Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 152—155 (Phidias was already at work on his Zeus c. 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between c. 460 and 448, i.e. before his Athena), W. Judeich 'Zum "Phidias-Papyrus"' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 50—58 (rejects H. Schrader's view: holds that Phidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History and Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 240 f. (his Zeus should be dated 438—432, i.e. after his Athena), C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 80 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schrader), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus 'would seem to be the more likely,' but 'We must leave it an open question whether Phidias left Athens in 438 or in 432'). The contest continues.

ii. 759 the marble statuette of Zeus at Lyons. Espérandieu *Bai-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* iii. 46 f. no. 1810 with three views.

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) enthroned found in Delos (J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele enthroned from a neighbouring site (*id.* in *Dilos* viii. 1. 220 with fig. 97).

ii. 760 f. Alexander's reversion to a pre-Phidias type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 412—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaising relief (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated c. 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 223 says more correctly 'the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.' C. Picard 'La porte de Zeus à Thasos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 43—76, *id.* 'Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos' *ib.* 1912 ii. 385—398, *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 1 recognises Zeus and Iris). Within a *naïskos*, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, support in form of dancer (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492, 493, p. 700 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic *chiton* and *himation* with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre

in his left hand, and fingers a tress of hair with his right. Before him stands Nike, winged and wearing *chiton* and *himation*.

ii. 764 ff. Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt. E. Unger 'Dreizack' in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 462 deals with the near East (Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Asia Minor). G. Furlani 'Fulmini mesopotamici, hittiti, greci ed etruschi' in *Studi Etruschi* 1931 v. 203—231 is a careful and well-documented survey, but without illustrations.

At *Ras el-Shamra*, 'Fennel Head,' the capital of ancient Ugarit, some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast, Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1932 recovered from a small sanctuary 'in the western periphery of the great temple' a splendidly preserved *stèle* (1'45<sup>m</sup> high), which shows in *champlevé* relief Ba'al and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Ba'al brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a stylised thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags. Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be c. xiv B.C. (C. F. A. Schaeffer in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 212 with figs. 5 and 15 on pp. 178 and 181; Mlle M. Rutten in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Le Musée du Louvre: Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. (= my fig. 902)).

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare 'fly'-type (*supra* ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 5) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 26, 1934) that one or two examples of a late *drachme* had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keraunos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a *Gorgonion*, with obvious allusion to the *aiōis* of Zeus *aiglechos*, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees 'that the head is probably that of a gorgon.'

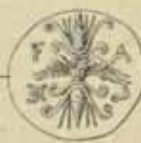


Fig. 903.

ii. 782 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boubrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metrodorus of Chios (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 205 Müller)=*frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 266 Jacoby) *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 6. 8. 1 εἰδὼς δ' ἡ βοῦβρωστις ἕτερον εἶναι (sc. τοῦ βουλήμονος)· τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐλαβάνομεν ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρου Ἰωνικῶν. ἰστορεῖ γὰρ ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰολεῖς ὄντες θύουσι Βουβρώστει ταύρον μέλαρα καὶ κατακόφαιρας αὐρόδορον ὀλοκαντοῦσιν) may well have been a personified Gadfly (see W. Leaf on *Il.* 24. 532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes *Kvris πότρυα τρία* (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 9), on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Ilylos von Epidauros* Berlin 1886 and *supra* p. 1083.

ii. 784 Keraunos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 3 suggests that the small figure beneath the throne of Zeus on the gateway at Thasos (*supra* on ii. 760 f.) may be 'une personification de la foudre.' Improbable.

ii. 788 n. o. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the *πεμπόβολα* of *Il.* 1. 463 = *Od.* 3. 460, were found in a 'Depotfund' of c. 1000 B.C. at Tecchiarello di Pariana in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 378 no. 118, *id.* 'Pempobolon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. pp. 331—334 fig. 1).

ii. 789 ff. the trident as a lightning-fork. See now G. Furlani 'Sulla preistoria del tridente di Posidone' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 42—47 with figs.

E. F. Coote Lake 'Shrove Tuesday in South Dalmatia' in *Folk-Lore* 1927 xxxviii. 371—375 describes the Carnival at Cattaro in 1922, when a young man wearing a black mask with sheep's horns and carrying a small black trident, about two feet long, leapt high in the air throughout the procession. Lake suggests (p. 374) that this was magic to make the crops grow high, and that the magician bore 'his old trident-thunderbolt as part of the fertility rites.' Possible, but precarious.

Sir John Marshall's discovery of a chalko-lithic civilisation on the Indus has enabled us now to trace the figure of Çiva back to a period c. 3000 B.C., when he appears as an ithyphallic god with bull's horns and a raised point between them. Sir John suggested to me in conversation that this arrangement of two curved horns and a central spike may have developed at a later date into Çiva's attribute the trident.

ii. 802. On Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that



described by Mr E. J. Seltman (*supra* ii. 1225) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature T. A<sup>7</sup>, represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing *himationes* and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the *decurio* of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 137: F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 664)?

ii. 805 the Etruscan *bidental*. See further G. Furlani 'Il *bidental* etrusco e un' iscrizione di Tiglatpileser 1 d' Assiria' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1930 vi. 9—49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in *Annuario* 1930 iv. 415—417 and by L. Banti in *Studi etruschi* 1931 v. 624).

ii. 807 n. 5 (5) *astragalomanteia*. E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1793 and T. Hopfner *ib.* Suppl. iv. 51—56. An article on 'Wurforakel' is promised for the 'Nachtrag' of vol. ix of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin 1938—.

ii. 808 n. o (9) Zeus *Keraunios* in Moesia Inferior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Keraunios aus Niedermoesien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 166—169 with

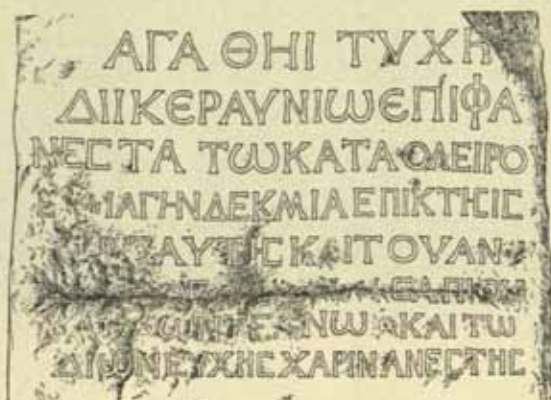


Fig. 904.

fig. (= my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at *Tironeo* near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs 'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ | Δι Κεραυνίῳ Ἐπιφανεστάτῳ κατὰ ἐπιτομήν | ἐπὶ τῇδε Δεκμία Ἐπίκτητος | [ὅτι] ἐρ' αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀν[δρὸς] Δε... Σαπίου | κα[ὶ] τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν [ἐν] | [ἐ]δῶν εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέστηθε. The husband's name was perhaps Δεκμῖος or Δεκοῦμος.

ii. 808 n. o (13) Zeus *Keraunios* in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Arch. Eph.* 1924 pp. 143—146 no. 388 fig. 2 (= my fig. 905) publishes a *stèle* of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Pythion (*Topoliane*) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of c. 200 B.C. or a little earlier [Δη or Τι]μοκράτης Ἀρ[χι]τ[ε]κ[τ]ῶν [κα] | [Ε]π[ὶ] τῇδε Παντοκράτορι | [Δ]ι | Κεραυνίῳ and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a *himation*, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is bound a fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a *phidie*. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of De(?)mocrates, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

ii. 808 n. o (17) Zeus *Keraunios* at Rome. This inscription is included in the latest (1933) fascicule of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36802.

ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4. ii. 4 comments: 'früher Sammlung Blacas... wohl Titus oder Domitian.'

ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. 6 speaks of 'a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snake legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion.

ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780 the relief from Emesa. Similar reliefs have been found at Palmyra (*Tadmor*). H. A. Seyrig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 715—742 figs. 1—9 presents a preliminary report on the excavations carried out there by the French Department of Antiquities in 1930—1933 and supplements on many points the handsome work of T. Wiegand and his colleagues (*Palmyra* Berlin 1932 i. 1—171 with plan of town, ii pls. 1—100). It appears that the Palmyrene temple was dedicated on April 6, 32 A.D. to the triad Bel, Iaribol, and Aglibol. Somewhat later it



Fig. 905.

was surrounded by four colonnades, on the north, east, and south by a double row of lower columns, on the west, where the main *Propylæon* lay, by a single row of higher columns, all of the Corinthian order, but unfluted. Work began at the north-west angle in early Flavian times, and continued along the north, east, south, and west sides, reaching completion c. 150 A.D. Within this great quadrangle, some 200<sup>m</sup> square, still stands on its broad *podium* a Corinthian pseudodipteral temple (8 × 15 columns, fluted) with the foundations of its altar on the north and its lustral basin on the south. It had originally two pediments and was *quasi*-Greek in plan, a north-to-south oblong with a door at the southern end. The plan, however, underwent sundry modifications. The southern door was built up. A fresh door was opened in the western side, south of its centre. A couple of *adyta* was constructed at either end of the *naos*. The northern *adyton*, with much mythological decoration, seems to have housed the *páredroi* of Bel—the sun-god Iaribol and the moon-god Aglibol. These names suggest that the principal



Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern *ddyton*, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the *lectisternium* of the god. The roof of the northern *ddyton* is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Iupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bel was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the *ddyton*-door (cp. *supra* ii. 431) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle's claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun's course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the columns and the *naos*-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the *ddyton* and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig 'Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1933 xiv. 253—260 fig. 2 lintel, fig. 5 dome, *id.* 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bêl à Palmyre'.

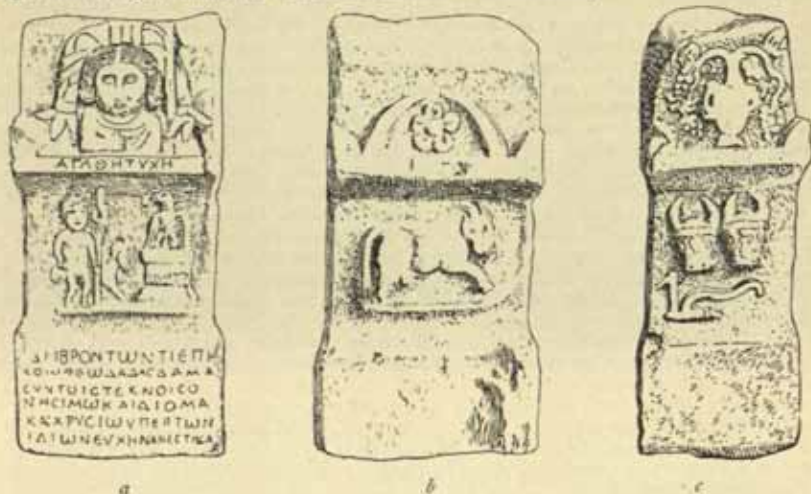


Fig. 906.

*ib.* 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (*ib.* 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed *nimbus* and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horns and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Beltis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesa. Another (*ib.* 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 22) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (?) in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbelos (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*<sup>3</sup> Leipzig 1912 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 971 Ἀγλιβώλω και Μαλαχβήλω πατρώου θεοῦ | και τὸ σίγνον ἀργυροῦν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ ἀνέθηκε | Τ. Δορ(ή)σις) Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀρτιόχου Ἀδριανοῦ Παλμυρηνοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ και τῆς συμβίου και τῶν τέκνων, ἐτους ζυφ (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) μηνὸς Περαιου)—another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2193—2301, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 824—828).

ii. 818 f. Zeus Zbelthiurdos with snake. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 77 n. 3 cp. a small unpublished bronze in the Musée Saint-Pierre at Lyons, which portrays the god with a snake rolled round the arm that holds the thunderbolt. But does this betoken his *aigis*?

G. I. Katsarov in the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, e.g. 'rough statues of...Zeus Zbelthiurdos, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 140).

ii. 823 n. 1 Dionysos as *ἦρως*? W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation ἐλθεῖν ἦρ', ὃ Διόνυσος and p. 157 f. is 'inclined to welcome' it.

G. Seure 'NEOS HPΩΣ, KOTPOΣ HPΩΣ' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral *stelai* from Odessos (*Varna*), one inscribed Ἀγαθὴν Ἀπαρτοῦπον νεὸς ἦρως (fig. 1), the other Ἀρεμίδωρος Νουμπίου, | κοῦρος ἦρως [ἡμ]ωδός, χαίρει (fig. 2).

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner *Nebelsagen* Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. already cites from German folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1400 'Auch als Peitsche, Rute und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der Blitz.'

ii. 833 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 47 f. no. 842 fig. *Id. ib.* p. 48 ff. describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus Brontōn: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (=my fig. 906) (*Ineuu*, early 1. iii A.D.) Ἀγαθὴ Τέχνη | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Ἐπη|κέει θεῷ Δαδῆς Δαμῆ | σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις Ὀυρημῶν καὶ Διοῦ | καὶ Χρυσῶν ἐπὶ τῶν | ἰδίων εὐχῶν ἀφίστησαν. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large garland round head; below, Hermes with *caduceus*, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right uphill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two *bucrania* with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of bust with radiate nimbus. (2) p. 50 f. no. 844 fig. (*Ineuu*, early 1. iii A.D.). Front: rosette and the inscription Ἀγαθὴ Τέχνη | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Μέννης θάλλου σὺν τέκνοις κατὰ ἐπιτάγην ἀφίστησαν. Back: bust of god, bearded (?); eagle on wreath, below which is inscribed Δὸς Μεγίστου. Sides: rosette above *bucranium*. (3) p. 51 f. no. 845 fig. (*Gumbet*, 1. iii A.D.) Ἀγαθὴ Τέχνη | Διὶ Βροντῶντι Μέν[η] | [ἐ]στῆσεν κατὰ ἐλευ[σιν] τοῦ θεοῦ. Front: crescent; half-length bust of Zeus with short beard and long hair, eagle on right shoulder. Back: two *bucrania* above plough. Left side: rounded vase above thunderbolt. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. *Supra* ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in *Historia* 1932 vi. 238—273 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at *Brussa* (Prousa). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus Brontōn in the British Museum (fig. 6=*supra* ii. 837 fig. 794). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, e.g. the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 unrestored, *supra* p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus Brontōn is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxxiv—xliv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeion and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 323 monuments, 282 for the first time. Among the new finds are 56 dedications to Zeus Brontōn: and a useful conspectus of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 172—176). *A propos* of 'sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epitaphs explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epitaphs concealed beneath dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Brontōn cult; and that Zeus Brontōn, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs.... It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Brontōn receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Brontōn was a chthonic deity' (p. xliii) and urge that inscription no. 225 (*Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia)) Θεοῖς Κα|<κα>ραχθῶντος καὶ | Διὶ Βρον|τῶντι ὃ 'need not imply any intimate connection' between him and the Θεοὶ Καραχθῶντος, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Brontōn no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xliii). They demur (*ib.*), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (*supra* ii. 836 ff. ἐξ ἀλλῆς, *spelaeum*), and note (p. xli) that he and Apollon 'may



have been *σύνναος θεός* (nos. 173 *Aytacik*, 181 *Knyucak*). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus *Brontōn* was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (*supra* ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from *Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia) ... | Διὶ Βροντῶντι ἐὼχθρ | καὶ πατρὶ θεῷ 'it seems probable that, as Körte thought (*A.M.* xxx, 1900, p. 442), ll. 3—4 link to the dedication to Brontōn an epitaph to the dedicator's father, now dead and deified, and not a further dedication to a deity known to the citizens of Nacolea as Πατὴρ Θεός' (p. 111). 'Even in the Nacolean village dedication Νεὺκάρω καὶ Τα(ρ)εῖσι Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Νεὺχρόσι πατρὶ (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxiii, 1861, p. 188, no. 38, at Ayvali)... we incline (partly owing to the resemblance of the names) to see in Νεὺχρόσι πατρὶ the deceased father of Neikanor... and not a god Νεὺκάρω Πατὴρ' (p. 112).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ' in the *Atk. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 1—68 (especially pp. 23—25) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his *Gebet und Wunder* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 200—204 ('Die *θυρίδες* am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsaudienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian, Ikaromenippos 23 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysos *Brontōs*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 83 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzoni *I misteri* Bologna (1925) pp. 1—40 ('Il rombo').

ii. 838 ritual enthronement. See now A. D. Nock in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlv. 47 f. ('Thronosis').

ii. 854 n. 9. To the bibliography of Kleanthes' *Hymn* add E. Neustadt 'Der Zeus-hymnos des Kleanthes' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 387—401 (in line 4 is content with T. Bergk's cj. δλου), A. S. Way *Hymns of Callimachus with the Hymn of Kleanthes in English verse* London 1934 p. 35 f., M. Meunier *Hymnes philosophiques d'Aristote, Cléanthe et Proclus* Paris 1935 pp. 1—116.

ii. 859 ff. Kairos. A. A. Papadopoulos 'Καῖρός' in the *Ἐπερηγίς Ἐραπειας Βοστανίων Σπουδών* 1927 iv. 251—256 is summarised by G. Soyter in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 22, 1928 pp. 1168 (Papadopoulos explains Καῖρός 'als den Boten des Patriarchen, der dem Kaiser meldete, dass es "Zeit" sei, in die Hagia Sophia zu gehen. Später habe καῖρός in der kirchlichen Sprache die Bedeutung "Erlaubnis (zum Messelesen)" angenommen').

ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary *replica* at Athens is included in O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 125 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (*Trogir*) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramčić 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 4. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 298 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus *Aktaios* on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited *Phassidi* and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The *peribolos* was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos... and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited *Phassidi* yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek staff map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile... That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his "excavation" is pure invention.'





artificially smoothed rock-wall is here decorated with ambitious carvings worked in very high relief. From the top of rock-cut steps rise two rock-cut bases side by side. That on the left supports a column c. 4<sup>m</sup> high, on which an eagle c. 2<sup>m</sup> high but now headless sits with spread wings. That on the right supports an arched distyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a toga but *minus* his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed θεῶν Ὑψίστου | Ἐπεκτέτω | Ἡ(τω) | εὐερεῖ? εἰς | παρ | [καὶ τὸν ἀε?]τ[ὸν... ] | τ[α]το[ν... ] | [....]. Above the arched niche is a *tabula ansata* with a longer inscription beginning ὑπὲρ τῆς | Σεβασ[τ]ῆς εὐφροσύνης καὶ | εἰς | τὴν τελευτ[ῆ]ν | Χ[ρ]ισ[τ]ο[φ]ο[ρ]οῦ Κ[α]λα[μ]οῦ Γε[ρ]μα[ν]οῦ | καὶ | Καλο[α]γο[ρ]ῆς | Σεβ[α]στοῦ δ[ε] τοῦ ἐ[π]ισ[τ]ρα[τ]ίου θε[ο]ῦ | Σεβ[α]στοῦ [ἀρχι-]ρε[ν]οῦ | κ.τ.λ. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 6983 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5883) shows that the dedicator was G. Iulius Aquila (*nomen omen*) 'divi Augusti perpetuus sacerdos,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.

(29) Syria. Doura on the Euphrates. C. Hopkins in P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Second Season 1928—1929 Yale Univ. Press 1931 pp. 86—90 fig. 2 publishes an inscribed stone slab found within the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods on what appears to have been the site of an older sanctuary εἰς τοῦ βοῦ | μὲν δὲ τοῦ Διὸς | περὶ δ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς τὴν σεύρα | κατὰ τὴν χάριν | γενομένην ἢ | πόλιν τὸν βοῦ μὲν ἀνέγειρεν | Μεγίστου Δι. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 on a stone altar [Διὶ Σε]τ[ε]ρ[ε] | Ἀπολλοῦδος Νίκωνος | ἀπὸ σεισμῶν διασωθεὶς ἀνέ[θε]κε), and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to greatest Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the scene of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922—1923) Paris 1926 p. 387 f. no. 25 Διὸς Μεγίστου, | [Ἐ]στ[ε]ρία? and below Διὸς Με[γ]ίστου with col. pl. 50). See further R. Cagnat—M. Besnier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 369 no. 114, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Rem. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. pp. 36 and 44 with pl. 6 plans and restoration by H. Pearson) sums up: 'Zeus Megistos was probably the *interpretatio graeca* of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His *synnaos theos* in this temple and his acolyte were the Arabian light and caravan god Arsu.'

Damaskos. R. Mouterde in *Syria* 1925 vi. 246—252 no. 33 pl. 33, 2<sup>a</sup> and 2<sup>b</sup> publishes an altar of Zeus *Mnaphos* found somewhere in the *Hauran* and now at Damaskos. The basalt block bears in high relief of c. 1. iv A.D. a half-length bust of the deity, who is beardless and has curling locks like a sun-god, a Syrian collar, and Greek drapery. Front: Ζεῦ Μνάφῃ, μ[ε]ν[τ]έ[ρ]α τῆς | [ἡ]ν[τ]α τῆς | [ἡ]ν[τ]α τῆς. Left side: Ζεῦ Μ[ε]ν[τ]έ[ρ]α, | μ[ε]ν[τ]έ[ρ]α τῆς | τῆς. | Β[ε]ν[τ]έ[ρ]α τῆς | τῆς. | τῆς. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 1 no. 3668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4349 (Aquincum or, more probably, Carnuntum) dis patris Ma[n]alphio et Theandrio pro sal. | dd. nn., | Cl. Victorinus | eq. coh. Ḑ Cantrag. | et Cl. Maximus fil., | dom. Can., v. s. l. l., where J. H. Mordtmann in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1875 p. 106 n. 1 rightly cj. *Manapho*. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 662<sup>b</sup> says: 'The name **Manāf**, "height," "high place," is also a kind of abstract noun. That Manāf was worshipped as a god [among the ancient Arabs] is proved by the testimony of a verse, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the name *'Abd Manāf*, which was especially common at Mecca and among the neighbouring tribe of Hudhail.' See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2309 f., K. Preisendanz in *Pauli—Wissowa Real-Enc.* liv. 971.

(30) Phoinike. M. Pillet 'Le Temple de Byblos' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 105—112 gives a ground-plan (pl. 28) and views (pls. 29 and 30) of the famous temple, excavated in June 1926. R. Dussaud *ib.* pp. 113—115 discusses its restoration (fig. 2 after a coin of Macrinus).

(31) Aigyptos. C. Roberts—T. C. Skeat—A. D. Nock 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos' in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 39—89 publish with elaborate and valuable commentary a papyrus sheet of the late Ptolemaic period (c. 69—58 B.C.) containing regulations for the gild with its election of an annual president, its monthly banquet in the sanctuary of Zeus, its standing orders, etc.: 3 ff. ἀγαθὴν τέχνην. | νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν τοῦ | κατὰ κοινὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς Ὑψίστου συνέδου τούτων εἶναι κύριον, | καὶ ποιούντες καθὶ διαχορ[ε]ν πρῶτον μὲν προχειρισάμενοι ἐπ' αὐτῶν | ἡγουμένον Πετεροῦ[χ]ον Τεφθέρνιον, ἀνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν | ἀξίον, εἰς εἰς αὐτὸν [ἀπὸ τοῦ] προ[α]γ[ο]ρευμένον μνηστὴρ καὶ ἡμέρας συνερχ[ο]μενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσι πινεῖσθαι κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μίαν ἃ ἐν τῶν τοῦ Διὸς | ἱερῶν ἐν αἷς ἐν ἀνδρῶν κοινῶι σφένδαμνον εὐχέσθωσαν καὶ τὰλλα τὸν νομ[ο]νόμενα ὑπὲρ τε τῆς θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου βασιλῆως ὑπακούειν δὲ πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγουμένου καὶ τῆς





building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiarchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus *Aphēios*. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus *Olympios* (Paus. 1. 40. 4), *Aphēios* (1. 44. 9), *Kōnios* (1. 40. 6), with the Muses (1. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Highbarger *The History and Civilization of ancient Megara Pt 1* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 79—82 deals with Zeus *Aphēios* and his relations to Zeus *Apesantios* ('Zeus Aphetios ist der alte Gott des argivischen Apesasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde.... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphetios knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultes ist ein aus der Flut geretteter Heros [*supra* ii. 897 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Eponyme des Landes. Sein Rettung geschieht übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegender Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.



Fig. 907.

1. 40. 1 *ἀλλὰ—νήχισθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοήν τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν—διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθήσεται*], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfindung zu charakterisieren').

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus *Keraios* at Akraiphia and that of Zeus *Keraios* at Thespiæ (*supra* on ii. 874 n. 2).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles *Chitrops*. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περὶ τὸ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κορυφῆς' in the *Αρχ. Δελτ.* 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnassos. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassos as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: 'When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun's orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboea. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and

even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain.' Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 902 n. 2 Mt Kenaion. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus *Ktinaios*. He found a massive precinct-wall, 2.5<sup>m</sup> thick, extending for a stretch of c. 50<sup>m</sup>. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 480, A. M. Wood-



Fig. 908.



Fig. 909.

ward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224, E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 112). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of *póros*-blocks. The walls, 3<sup>m</sup> thick, had two faces of proisodomous masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble *phidie* near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than c. 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlandos 'Ο ἐν Στρατῶν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1923 viii. 1—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inexactitudes, and the author seems to have poached unduly upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie* Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—



was built c. 330 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with  $6 \times 11$  columns as yet unfluted. *Prónaos* and *episthódomos* had each two columns *in antis*. Within the *nais* were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral. A. Jouin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 451 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in s. ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3—5 read (Courby—Picard p. 13) [δ]ῖπρόδο Διοκόμοιο [Δ]ιόκομοιο | Στράτιος τῷ Διὶ ἐπ' [ἐλευθερίας σῶ]μα[α] | [ἐπ]ὶ δροίον κ.τ.λ.

ii. 904 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Bachtin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from *Spelia* on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of

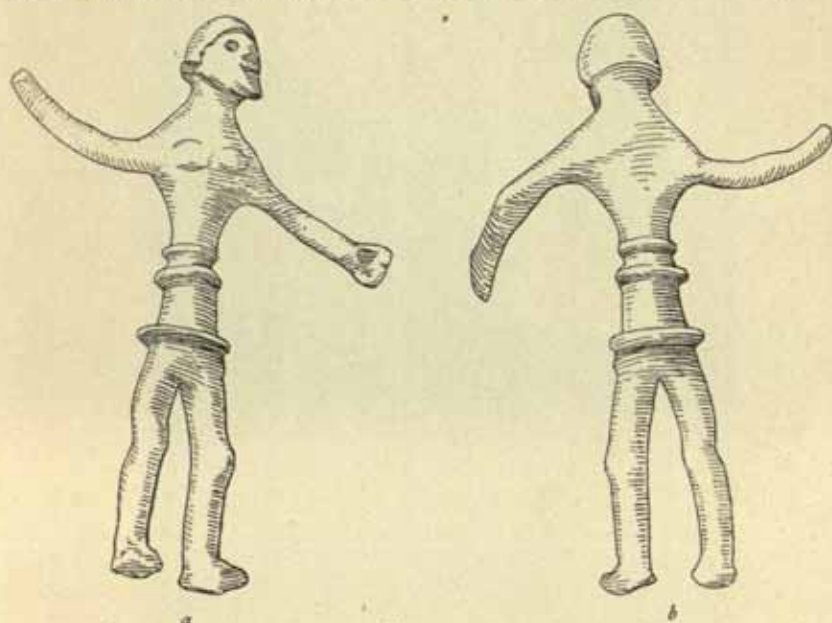


Fig. 910.

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 904 n. 1 Zeus *Laphýstios*. N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1925—1926 pp. 183—185 figs. 1 a, 1 β (= my fig. 910 a, b) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of Zeus *Laphýstios*. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date c. 700 B.C. Reinach *Rip. Stat.* vi. 164 no. 1.

ii. 905 n. o. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympos and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxviii *Mitka*, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig. 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from *Mitka* Ridge, fig. 912 *Skolion* from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (*supra* i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaros. E. Polaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) *Tmor* on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) *Tomari* in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) *Tómaros* or *Tmdros*, the modern Olička, south-west

of Dodona; (4) *Tmidrion* in Arkadia (Hesych. *Τυμδριον* ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe *Die alten balkan-illyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *tem-* of *τέμνω*, *τομή*, etc. and so signify 'sheer-cut' or the like (cp. *Τέμνη*, *Τέμνυρα*, *Τομεύς*, *Τόμος*). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt *Tómaros* or *Tmidros* near Dodona (Claud. *de bello Getico* 16 ff. iactent...Minervam...caeso Tomari Iovis augure luco | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse oquaces, Hesych. *Τυμδριον* Ζεὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ), where the priests of the god were called



Fig. 911.

*tomourai* (Strab. 328 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένους ἐποφύτας τοῦ Διὸς, οὗτοι καὶ ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαίεναι καλεῖ, τομοῦροι φασὶ λεχθῆναι· κ.τ.λ.) or *tómourai* (*supra* ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt *Tomori* near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire *King Zog's Albania* London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of 'Tomori's holy summit' and *ib.* p. 253 gives the local legend: 'One August 25 long ago...Abas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when



there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the *tekké*. So Tomori is a holy mountain and *për Baba Tomorit* a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so *Baba Tyrabiu* told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so Abas Ali probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced.' *Id. ib.* p. 280 mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with 'passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the *tekké* on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. ('A mountain of Zeus') has

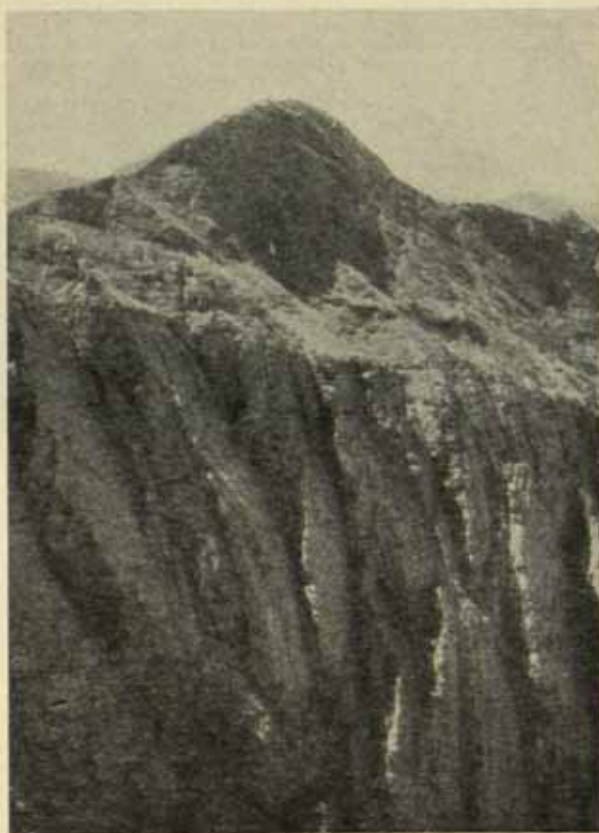


Fig. 912.

much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a *kirijec*, who had been up it often before and said: "Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen hundred. And it didn't do to be disrespectful about these matters either." When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: "Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori...At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to

the spot where the shrine stands to-day. For three days he meditated alone there on the fate of his foes and the future of his country, Albania. Then one last time he vaulted into the saddle of his great horse. Through the air it bore him to the top of Mount Olympus, in Greece, and there he lives for ever. But every year, on August 15, the day when he and his brother first arrived in the country, he returns to Tomori's summit. For three days he remains there to receive the homage of his people. And it is because of that and because of his guardianship that Christians and Moslems alike make their pilgrimage every year and for three days offer sacrifices at the shrine." "Living for ever on Olympus.... Then it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern Albania still paid their homage." *Id. ib.* p. 283 "All I could feel as I halted finally beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now.... Round these few square



Fig. 913.

yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men peopling a score of centuries. Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls. Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen the summit for his residence. Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out and visible, to the distant silver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the south did the chain of the Acroceraunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another stony path in the failing light.' At the monastery the *baba*, a young and scholarly man, had more to tell (*ib.* p. 284 f.): "You must know...that the shrine isn't Tomori's only claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the hardest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in



the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them." Mr Matthews ends his narrative by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south: *ib.* p. 286 'if you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village, itself called Tomori. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known locally as Qyteti (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers Dodona.'

Mr Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: 'In a *tekke* (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way from Koritza to Berat...accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter. We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashite branch of Mohammedans.... The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the following day we rose at daybreak and commenced the climb. The full complement of monks were in attendance—some forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen, the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of ZEUS, to whom this sacrifice was to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use; the monks appeared as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers, and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below, which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its decease. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion, and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never discovered.'

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashite usage, common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektashi order and its syncretism of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob *Die Bektaschijje* (*Abh. d. bayern. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe* xxiv. 3. 2) Munich 1909 pp. 1–53 figs. 1–3, also F. W. Hasluck *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* Oxford 1929 ii. 869 Index s.v. Tomor, Mount (Bektashi *tekke* on, 163<sup>3</sup>, 548: Abbas Ali haunts, 93<sup>2</sup>, 548, 548<sup>2</sup>: gold plant on, 645<sup>2</sup>: oath by, 548<sup>2</sup>). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks on the mountain, the departure to Olympos, above all the survival of the name *Zeus*. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for all these factors, the abiding sanctity of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes of politics and religion.

ii. 906 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamemnon. W. Dörpfeld *Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935 i. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worm stones in the *Altis* at Olympia.

ii. 907 n. 2 Zeus *Ainésios*. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix. 163 would see Zeus *Ainésios* on a bronze coin of Kranioi in Kephallenia (*ib.* p. 162 fig. 1, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 80 pl. 17, 1 (Poseidon?), *McClellan Cat. Coins* ii. 439 no. 6683 pl. 228, 12 (Kephalos)).

ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the architects. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 198 criticises the results reached by B. Pace (*supra* ii. 1227). S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia' in *Architettura e arti decorative* 1923/1924 iii. 385–391 returns to the charge. P. Marconi

*Agrigento. Topografia ed arte* Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 162 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: 'the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus..., which proved that the *telamones* faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.' P. Marconi 'Novità nell' Olimpia di Agrigento' in *Dadalo* 1932 pp. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these *telamones* and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor read a paper, as yet unpublished, on 'The Giants of Agrigento' at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 *Zeus Milius*. See the succinct article by gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 524. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt* 1932 xlix. 2575 f. reviews Kruse's article and tries to discredit this appellation: 'Vaillant und Piovene sind Mionnets Gewährsmänner!... Das Zeugnis aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Münzen sind bis heute nicht belegt.' Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hypersceptical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* Paris 1928 pp. 1—319 with 260 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in *Delos* xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d'Athèna aux temps archaïques'), 71—92 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna au temps de l'indépendance Délienne (314—166)'), 93—144 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna sous la seconde domination Athénienne'), 228—255 ('Sanctuaire de l'autre'). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: e.g. on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in 'Minoan' times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 252 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Delos of Rhea's lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot—I had never suspected, viz. that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 360 ff. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 ('Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes') he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the *tlēmenos* of Apollon—the *θήκη* of Opis and Arge (*Delos* v. 63—74 ('Le "Tombeau mycénien"')) and the *σῆμα* of Hyperochē and Laodike (C. Picard—J. Replat in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 247 ff.); and he finds a survival of early Hellenic worship in the altar of horns and its archaic ritual (*supra* i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1087). In pp. 367—370 ('Zeus Kynthios und Athena Kynthia') he distinguishes an archaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century reconstruction with stairways, *prōpylon*, *peribolos*, and two Ionic *ekkoî*; and a later lay-out of three small terraces on the east side, of which the most southerly had an oblong building and a mosaic inscription (*supra* ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 ('Das Höhlenheiligtum am Kynthos') he accepts Plassart's dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Delos was associated with the Kabeiroi (P. Roussel *Delos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 232 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as *τὸ Καβείρ(ε)ϊον τὸ ἐν τῇ Κέσθῳ* (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 144, A 90) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in *Delos* xi. 265 records two inscriptions to Zeus *Mégistos* (e.g. 'Ἡλυδωπος Διὶ Μεγίστῳ' ἐὰν πρὸς τὰ γὰρ on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary c on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrion. R. Herbig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus *Atabyrios*. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive *peribolos*-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use ('Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?'). Many dedications of Graeco-Roman date, all to Zeus *Atabyrios*, made monotonous reading. Votive objects included numerous small bulls and zebras in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread *viâ* Crete to



Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later to the Crimea (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103 b ('Prope Symptheropolin (Akmedschet), haud procul a montibus *Taurorum*') a base inscribed Διὶ Ἀταβερῶν Ποσειδῶν Ποσειδῶν χαριστήριον. E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476). Eissfeldt further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad, Rimmon-Ramman, and Tešub, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. 1 Mt Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr N. G. L. Hammond supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931): 'The mountain identified locally with Dione in repose is called Emértsa (Gk. *Εμέρτσα*). The Austrian Staff map 1/200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40') wrongly calls it Nemerčika. The mountain lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Kalamas (in antiquity Thyamis).'

ii. 941 f. n. o. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. Hephaist. ap. Phot. *bibl.* p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker *ὅτι ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφος λεγόμενος τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Κρητὸς ἐστίν, διὰ τὰς τοῦ Κρόνου λαβὼν τὸν Δία ἐτρεφέ τε καὶ ἐπαίδευε τὰ θεῖα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ βάλλει (φῆσιν) ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν τροφῆ καὶ διδάσκαλον κεραιῶν, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς Ἰγίαντας αὐτοῦ τῇ βασίλει*



Fig. 914.

ἐπιθέσθαι ὑπερίθετο. ἀλλὰ βαλὼν καὶ νεκρὸν ἔχων μετεμελεῖτο· μὴ ἔχων δ' ἄλλως τὸ πάθος ἐκκλῖναι, δίδωσι τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἀνηρημένου. Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) καὶ τί μοι τὰ πλήθῃ λέγειν τοῦ γενναίου τούτου φθορῶν καὶ φθορῶν διδάσκαλον; οὐ τὸ μῆμα οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐστὶ δῆλον. ἐν Κρήτῃ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγόμενῳ Λασιῶν (cp. *Lasithi*) ἔστι δεῦρο δακτυλοδεικτεῖται.

ii. 946 n. o Zeus *Endendros*. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 428 cites *Inscr. Gr. int.* v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (=my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed *βωμὸς Διὸς Ἐ[νδένδ]ρο, τῶς ἀπὸ Μ[α]ρ[ο]θέμιοι· μέλει σπένδεται*. See further *id.* 'Zeusaltar aus Paros' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist.* Classe 1906 pp. 786–788.

ii. 946 ff. n. o Zeus *Velchános*. Attempts to connect *Felchános* with *Volcanus* are still rife: see e.g. A. Nehring in *Schrader Reallex.* ii. 239 n. 1, F. Muller *Jm Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 560, Walde–Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos–Volcanus' in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* Città del Vaticano 1937 pp. 184–203 pl. 20, 1–4. But such proposals, however specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vürtheim of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had independently reached the same conclusion as Dr Atkinson and myself, viz. that *Felchános* means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vürtheim *Europa (Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, N<sup>o</sup> 6)* Amsterdam 1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o suggests that a large vase (?) or *rhyton* (?) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured among the presents of the Kefiu (Cretans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings of Rekhmaré (G. A. Hoskins *Travels in Ethiopia* 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331),

bore to the cult of Zeus *Velchinos* the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphoi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Rhea. He also cp. a sherd of 1425—1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920—21 (*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1923 ix. 1 ff. pl. 20, 1 wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a *genius* (?) with a cock's head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ide now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion *supra* p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius *Alectryomania, seu Divinatio Magica cum Gallis Gallinaceis peracta*... Francofurti & Lipsiae 1680 pp. 1—185, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 93 ff. ('Eros and Cocks'), Güntert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1325—1346 s.vv. 'Hahn', 'Hahnenbalken', 'Hahnenei', 'Hahnenkampf', 'Hahnenkrähen', 'Hahnen schlagen', 'Hahnen tanz', D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1936 pp. 33—44.

ii. 951 n. o with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 58 f. no. 41 pl. 23 cp. a fine bronze head from the Uvárov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow (*ib.* fig. 14, S. Reinach *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalisées* Paris 1903 p. 194 pl. 239).

ii. 960 n. o contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll 'Unum exuta pedem—ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung' in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 152—158 questions my view of the Dodonaean rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the 'Antaiosmotiv' remains the most probable explanation.

ii. 961 n. o. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by Miss G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. But her contentions (*Hektor* a shortened form of *Echélaos* (cp. II. 5. 473) = *Echelos*, a god of death) are *risquées*.

ii. 962 n. 2 Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 1926 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the northern slopes of the *Panaghir Dagh* (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and near them a *temenos* of Zeus, *Orda* (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped rock is inscribed in lettering of c. v B.C. *Zavós | Παρπόλο | Ιερόν*, and a relief-inscription of c. 300 B.C. reads *Zavós Iepón Παρπόλο καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος | Ἀριστῶνακτος | τοῦ Κυ νιδέω*. The site yielded no temple, but many inscriptions together with eight complete and three fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs showing the triad Kybele, Attis, and Zeus, or the pair Kybele and Attis, all bearing the lions symbolic of the goddess (J. Keil in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1926 xxiii. Beiblatt pp. 256—261 with figs. 48 rock-altar, 49—51 reliefs, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 580, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 260). Keil infers from the repeated absence of Zeus on these reliefs 'dass die Kulttrias, Vater, Mutter und Sohn, nicht ursprünglich ist, dass vielmehr die grosse Mutter zunächst nur den jugendlichen Gott zum Begleiter hatte. Wie die griechischen Ephesier diesen jugendlichen Gott benannten bzw. welchem ihrer Götter sie den altanatolischen Paredros der Bergmutter gleichsetzten [Hermes? Apollon?], bleibt noch zu ermitteln.'

ii. 963 n. o *Διοπετής*. The word is used in a secondary sense 'struck by lightning' in Aristophanes *Ischlus frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 358 Meineke) *ap. Stob. flor.* 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford l. 162) *αὶ τῶν ἑταίρων γὰρ διοπετεῖς οἰκίαι | γερῶνασιν ὄβατοι τοῖς ἐχούσι μὴ ἐν*.

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o doubts the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandria and at Pessinus.

ii. 970 n. o Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 161 f. quotes *Iskallis* as the Hittite name of Attis, and connects it with the Hittite verb *iskall-* 'to cut.' Hence *iskallas* and *iskallis* 'eunuch,' which appears in Greek as γάλλος.

ii. 970 n. o the finger of Attis. This curious belief may belong to the group of primitive notions studied by R. D. Scott *The Thumb of Knowledge* New York 1930 pp. 1—296 (Finn mac Cumail, Sigurd, Taliesin, etc.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 203 comments shrewdly: 'Est-ce le caractère sacré attaché, depuis l'époque quaternaire, à la main de l'homme?... A-t-on déjà songé aux statuettes alexandrines d'Harpocrate, l'enfant divin qui se met les doigts dans la bouche?'

ii. 970 n. o Agdistis. T. Zielinski *La Sibylle* Paris 1924 pp. 76—81 distinguishes the Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of 'autocastration' and subsequent recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death followed by new life.

ii. 971 n. 2 *Theoi Agrioi*. O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 15—19 collects all essential references to *Theoi Agrioi*, *Theoi*

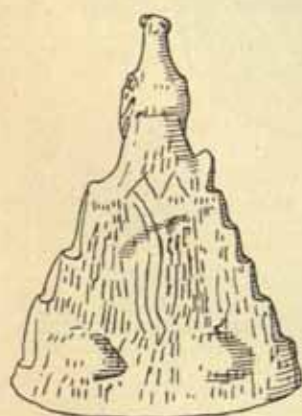




Fig. 915.



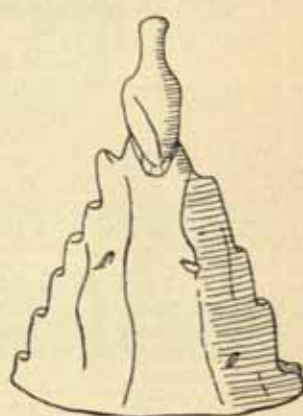
Fig. 916.



a



b



c

Fig. 917.

'*Ἀγρότεροι*, θεοὶ Ἄγροϊς and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—*Sondergötter* in Usener's sense (*supra* ii. 13 n. 1)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten *Kyrene* (*Philologische Untersuchungen* xx) Berlin 1911 p. 10.

ii. 973 n. 1 life-priests of Zeus *Solymneus*. F. Schehl in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt pp. 95—106 adds another [τὸν] γερόμενον διὰ βίου Διὸς Σολυμνέως | [ιερέα] Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Ἀρίππαν from an inscription of 140—145 A.D. found at Termessos.

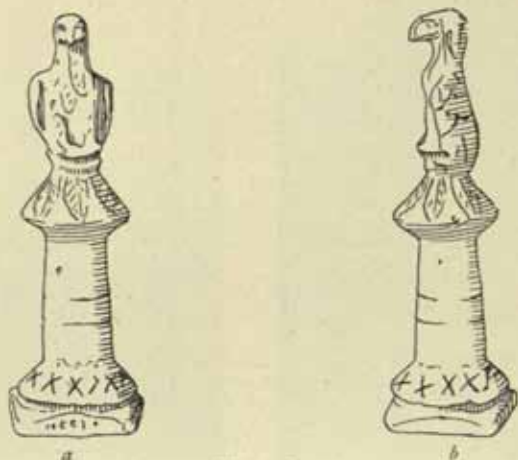


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

ii. 974 n. o festival of Zeus *Eleuthérios*. Other views in J. N. Svoronos 'ΤΕΡ. ΜΗΣΣΟΣ Η ΤΟ ΚΑΙΟΤΟ ΕΧΟΤΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 181—184.

ii. 977 ff. Mount Argaios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins* Innsbruck 1931 lxii. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argaios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt),' 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erlebnisse') with p. 129 'Kartenskizze vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Seldschukenburg in Kaisserie,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelturmes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.



I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argaios. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in *Kaiserlich* and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There is some indication of the *aiguilles* near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (? breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown *supra* ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive exvotos is a bronze (height 0.15 m) in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* v. 192 fig. c with text by Mlle Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia wearing Mt Argaios as a head-dress (*supra* ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work c. 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his *quadriga*, on the other the veiled head of Kaisareia in profile to the right with Mt Argaios as a crown and the inscription ETVXI BOKONTI εὐρύχ(ε) Βοκόντι(ε) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* 2 p. 179 no. 1663 pl. 23). Another rare coin-type of Kaisareia shows Zeus standing with a *hdathos* on his head and Mt Argaios in his left hand (F. Lenormant in *Daremberg-Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1996 fig. 5140 after Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus ('Sérapis'), *ib. Suppl.* vii. 742 pl. 13. 4 (= my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer Halle* (Saale) 1932 pp. 1-72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. ('Zeus Kasios')—reviewed by G. Bertram in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 554 f., by F. Nötscher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1933 xl. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1934 xxxvii. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by *interpretatio Graeca* Zeus Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jahwe.

ii. 984 n. 4 Mt Kasion in Egypt. A papyrus at Berlin mentions Zeus *Kásios* in s. ii A.D. (*Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 iii. 142 no. 827. 2 f. (P. 7150) τὸ προσκόνημα σου παρὰ τῷ Δι τῷ Κασίῳ, F. Preisigke *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrurkunden* Berlin 1931 iii. 388).

ii. 987 n. 0 anchor inscribed Ζεὺς Κάσι(ο)ς Σῶ[ωρ]. A 'Campanian' *hydria* from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an ἀφλαστον adorned with light and dark fillets, but also a στειλακος set on the steersman's seat and labelled Ι[Ε]ΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ (Winnefeld *Vasensamm.* Karlsruhe p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 229 ff. c. 300 B.C., H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 180 ff. fig. 12).

ii. 987 n. 1 Zeus *Hynnareús*. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 127 n. 3: 'Wer Hesiod mit Αἰγέως das kretische Ἰννάριον wiedergeben lässt, traut ihm eine wunderliche Sprachkenntnis zu.'

ii. 1012 n. 1. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933 p. 414 ('Three Sisters') and pp. 540-552 ('The Story of a Wise Maiden').

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Moliones as figured by a Boeotian *fibula* from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs (C. Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabsnævn Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser xlii. 1) København 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 63 f.

ii. 1017 n. 4 Pegasus as lightning-bearer (?). L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 fig. 63 adduces bronze coins of Termessos with *oón* head of Zeus, rev. forepart of bridled horse galloping with winged thunderbolt behind (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 269 f. pl. 41, 10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 523 no. 1).

ii. 1021 Nyx in the Orphic theogony. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* Cambridge 1935 p. 103 notes Aristot. *met.* 1071 b 26 f. οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ Νυκτὸς γεννώμενοι and *ib.* 1091 b 4 ff. οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ταύτῃ ὁμοίως, ἢ βασιλεύειν καὶ ἀρχειν φασὶν οὗ τοὺς πρώτους, οὐκ Νέκτα καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἢ Χάος ἢ Ὠκεανόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Δία with Alex. Aphrod. *ad loc.* (p. 821, 10 ff. Hayduck) αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν Ὀρέα καὶ οὗτος γὰρ φησιν εἶναι τὸ

ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀριστον ὑστερόν ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῦον καὶ κρατοῦν τῆς τῶν  
 πάντων φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀριστον, ὃ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ, ὃ Ζεὺς ἄρ' ἐστὶ  
 τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀριστον. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατ' Ὀρφέα τὸ Χάος γέγονεν, εἰθ' ὁ Ὀκεανός,  
 τρίτον Νέξ, τέταρτον ὁ Οὐρανός, εἰρ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς θεῶν ὁ Ζεὺς, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι

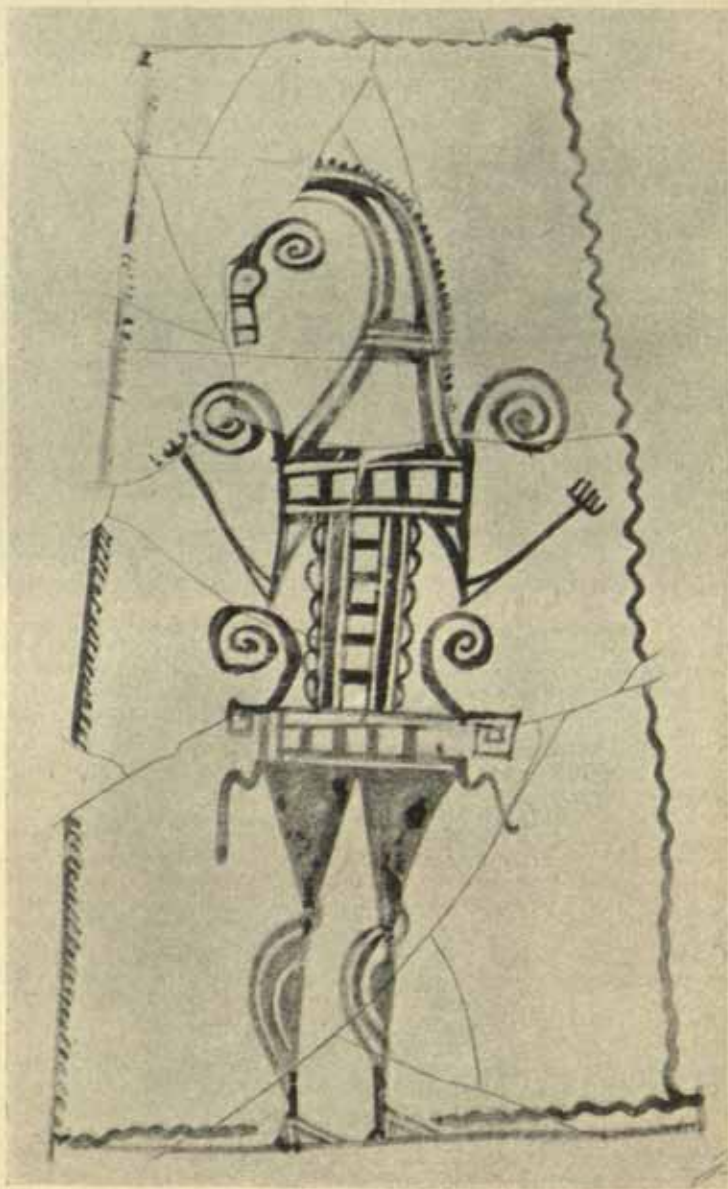


Fig. 970.



τὸν Δία, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὅτερον νομίζει καὶ τοῦ Χάου καὶ τοῦ Ἑκτανοῦ καὶ τῆς Νυκτὸς καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ἡτοῖ τοῦ κόσμου.

ii. 1014. On the Mandaean in general see W. Brandt in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 380—393. C. H. Kraeling 'The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandaeans' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1929 xlix. 195—218 shows (p. 209) that Mandaean cosmogony 'harks back to the traditions of the Orphic hymns, of Mochos and Sanchuniathon' (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 300).

ii. 1015 *Erikepalos*. A papyrus of s. iii B.C. found at Gurob addresses Ἰρεκπαῖτε in an Orphic context (J. G. Smyly *Greek Papyri from Gurob* Dublin 1921 (Royal Irish Academy. Cunningham Memoirs xii) p. 1 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, Orph. frag. vet. 31 col. i, 22 Kern [-]αῖ (Smyly c). βασιλεῦ or Εὐβολεῦ) Ἰρεκπαῖτε σώσθη με | κ.τ.λ., W. K. C. Guthrie *op. cit.* p. 98).

ii. 1017. On 'Zeus Schöpfer' see J. Amann *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristides* Stuttgart 1931 p. 47 ff.

ii. 1033 ff. The Cosmic Egg. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 n. 3 (Letts, Finns, Peruvians, etc.), E. Mogk 'Das Ei im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 215—223, A. Olivieri 'L' uovo cosmogonico degli Orfici' in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle arti Napoli* 1920 vii. 295—334 (reviewed by F. Kiesow in the *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 1921 xxvii. 169—173), Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 595—644 ('Ei'), especially p. 596 with nn. 11, 12, 13 ('Weltei' etc.), H. C. Baldry 'Embryological Analogies in Pre-Socratic Cosmogony' in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 27 ff.

ii. 1039 χάος connected with χάσσω. F. Börtzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from χέω, σύγχωσις, etc.

ii. 1040 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (=my fig. 920) publishes a red Iberian vase (*supra* p. 1090) bearing the black-figured design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the actor in some mumming play—and notes (*op. cit.* i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.

Recent studies of the horse-cult include P. Maylam *The Hooded Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom* Canterbury 1909 pp. 1—124 with pls. A—G, G. Ancey 'Le Cheval de Troie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 378—381, L. Malten 'Das Pferd im Totenglauben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 179—256 with 42 figs., M. Oldfield Howey *The Horse in Magic and Myth* London 1923 pp. 1—238 with 6 pls. and other figs. (popular), Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 172<sup>b</sup>—175<sup>a</sup>, L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 166—170, 184—186, H. M. Hubbell 'Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity' in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 179—192, Steller in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1935 vi. 1598—1652 ('Pferd'), 1652—1655 ('Pferdefleisch'), 1655 f. ('Pferdefuss'), 1656—1660 ('Pferdeheilige'), 1660 f. ('Pferdehuf'), 1661—1664 ('Pferdejunge'), 1664—1670 ('Pferdekopf'), 1670 f. ('Pferdemahr'), 1671—1675 ('Pferdeopfer'), 1675 f. ('Pferdeschwanz'), 1679 f. ('Pferdestall'), 1680 f. ('Pferdetag'), 1681—1683 ('Pferdeumritte'), 1683 f. ('Pferdeweih'), Ohrt *ib.* 1676—1679 ('Pferdesegen'), W. Koppers 'Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 279—411, R. Bleichsteiner 'Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker' *ib.* 413—495, A. Slawik 'Kultische Geheimbünde der Japaner und Germanen. Pferd' *ib.* 692—699, R. Lantier 'Chevaux-enseignes celtiques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 236—247 figs. 1—3.

ii. 1044 fig. 893 Helene and Menelaos. See now E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 307—311 fig. 147 pl. 170, 1. But E. Löwy 'Archäologisch-Philologisches' in *Wiener Studien* 1929 xlvii. 59 f. still (*cp. id.* 'Entstehung einer Sagenversion' *ib.* 1912 xxxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. *Lys.* 155 f. ὁ γὰρ Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλα πᾶσι γυναικῶν παραπαιδῶν ἐξέβαλ', οἷόν, τὸ εἶδος must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

ii. 1046 fig. 896 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 55, ii. 209, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 28, 6 p. 171).

ii. 1048 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the genre scenes in Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine* Berlin p. 257 no. 6918 pl. 51=*id.* *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 42, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (*supra* p. 39 n. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1050 Erotes on early Christian *sarcophagi*. See now G. Rodenwaldt 'Der Klinesarkophag von S. Lorenzo' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv. 116—189 with 59 figs. and pls. 5—7.

ii. 1053 fig. 910 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 595—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (*supra* p. 914 n. o).



Fig. 921

ii. 1054 ff. Zeus Ktésios. H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing *παγκρατία* is charged with *orenda* and serves as a praedeistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes *ἀμφωρία* and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hausschlange' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus Ktésios. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 149 and in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 181, by A. Momigliano in the *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keyssner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 6, 1933 pp. 493—497, by C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1934 xlvii. 377 f. and in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1934 cx. 247—249.



W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1934 lix. 43 f. no. 6 (Aigina: archaic) Διὸς Πάριος | [κ]αι Σωτήριος, cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 62 (*supra* i. 520 n. 2) and W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cor* Oxford 1891 no. 36, d 37 and 40 τῶν Παρίων.

ii. 1059 Donatus as interp. Serv. On this much-debated point see P. Wessner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1837—1842, H. J. Thomson 'Servius auctus and Donatus' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 205 f., G. B. Waldrop 'Donatus, the Interpreter of Vergil and Terence' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1927 xxxviii. 75—142.

ii. 1059 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Gräberkunde* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, *Sepino*) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found 'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the *akropolis* at Eleusis. 'Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children' (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 231 ff.). But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke 'Wohnungsbestattung' in *Ébert Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and 'Hausgrab' *ib.* v. 215 f.

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktízios* in Thasos. P. Guillon in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 i. 195—200 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a boundary-stone from Thasos inscribed c. 400 B.C. Διὸς | Κτησίῳ Πατρὶσι and cp. another from the same locality and of similar date published by G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 270 no. 10 [Δι]ὸς | [Ἀ]γοραῖο | Θασίο (summarised by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 617).

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktízios* at Mylasa. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvii. 398 f. no. 3 a fragmentary inscription mentioning 8 f. [τὸν θεῶνα τοῦ θεῶτος, ἐπ] [π]εία Διὸς Κτησίῳ.

ii. 1068 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 33—35 pl. 4 (=my fig. 921) and reproduced by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 ('Jupiter consulte le sort') shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots(?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god's right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.

A relief dating from s. iii B.C. and found at Athens in the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* represents a man and his wife invoking the goddess, who with a large torch held in both hands stands behind her altar and in front of two big jars set on the ground (A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 158 no. 1 pl. 8. P. Roussel *ib.* pp. 164—169 'Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallistè' traces the significance of the jars and cites the Homeric parallel. E. H. Heffner summarises both papers in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 1069 f. Zeus *Agamemnon*. I. Harrie 'Zeus Agamemnon in Sparta' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 359—369 explains this cult as a case of Hellenistic divinisation ('die Apotheose wird nicht als der Kult einer wirklichen Gottheit betrachtet, es haftet ihr ein Beigeschmack von serviler Schmeichelei an; diese Spartiaten, die den Agamemnon zum Götterkönig ausrufen, atmen alexandrinische Hofluft') and seeks to account for its attribution to Sparta by assuming a learned revival of the early lyrical version which connected Agamemnon with Lakedaimon and Amyklai (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 724).

ii. 1070 ff. Zeus *Amphidraos*. B. Leonardos 'Ἀμφιδραῖος' in the 'Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1917 pp. 239—242, 'Ἀμφιδραῖος' *ib.* 1918 pp. 110—113, 1919 pp. 99—102, 1922 pp. 101—111, 1923 pp. 166—169 reports on his excavations at the Amphiareion near Oropos over a series of seven successive years. *Id.* 'Ἀμφιδραῖος ἐπιγραφαί' in the 'Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 pp. 93 ff., 153 ff., 1886 p. 53 ff., 1889 p. 1 ff., 1891 p. 71 ff., 1892 p. 33 ff., in the 'Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1917 pp. 39 ff., 231 ff., 1918 p. 73 ff., 1919 p. 54 ff., 1923 p. 36 ff., 1925—1926 p. 9 ff. collects 160 inscriptions from the site.

ii. 1072 Zeus *amphithalês*. A. Oepke 'Ἀμφιθαλεῖς im griechischen und hellenistischen Kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 42—56 deals in *primis* with the young acolytes in the Baecic inscription found near Torre Nova (A. Vogliano in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 215 ff., F. Cumont *ib.* p. 232 ff., with abstract by C. Alexandro *ib.* p. 264 ff.)

and stresses the importance of *pueri ingenui patrimi et matrimi* in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 ff. Zeus *Trophónios*. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercyna' in *Le Musée Belge* 1929 xxxiii. 27—32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5—7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).

ii. 1075 Demeter *Erinyi*. A. H. Krappe 'EPINTΣ' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1932 lxxxi. 305—320 ('die Erinyen sind die rossgestaltigen Zwillingstöchter des Herrn der Erdentiefe und einer alten Fruchtbarkeitsgottheit, einer frühgriechischen "Mutter Erde," beide gleichfalls rossgestaltig.... Nach einer gleichfalls alten Parallelüberlieferung ist nur eines der Zwillingskinder weiblichen Geschlechts; das andere ist ein Hengst...').

ii. 1077 f. Zeus *Asklepiōs*. Cp. Galen, *περί ανατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων* 1. 2 (ii. 224 f. Kuhn) *ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατ' ἐκείνων ἐτι διέτριβον τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ Σατόρω παιδευόμενος, ἔτοι ἥδη τέταρτον ἐπιδηροῦντι τῇ Περγᾶμω μετὰ Κουστουίνου Ρουφίλου, κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν τὸν νῶον τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ* (where Kuhn prints the erroneous translation 'divi Aesculapii templum').

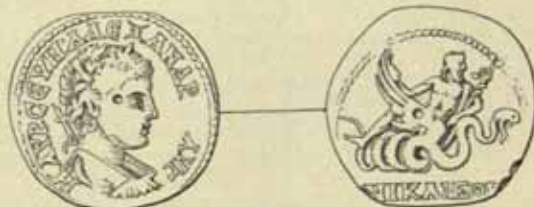


Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1082 ff. *Asklepiōs* and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidaurus may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurum or Epidaurus (*Ragusa vecchia*) in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called *boa* because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. v. S. *Hilar. eremit.* 39 (xxiii. 50 B—C Migne).

On *Alexandros* or the *Sham Seer* see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the *Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 160—162.

Comparable with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Caracalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate nimbus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 144 f. nos. 30—32, *McClellan Cat. Coins* ii. 195 no. 4525 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (*ib.* ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Caracalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (*ib.* p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaia in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 82, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for *Asklepiōs* is that of D. Detscev, who in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 1925 iii. 131—164 derives the name from a Thracian stem *\*dau-* 'snake' and *\*klatiōs*, *kalatiōs* cognate with the Thracian place-name *κληπι-δάρα* (connected with *\*glapi* and *\*apio* 'to bend'). On which showing *Asklepiōs* might mean 'he who moves with serpent coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. *Telesphoros*. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 161 ff. no. 276 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statuette of Asklepios, with Telesphoros beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur e.g. in bronze at Amiens (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 5), Djemila (ii. 450 no. 6), Florence (v. 223 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris



(ii. 470 no. 4), Trèves (iv. 293 no. 3), Troyes (ii. 470 no. 2), in marble at Mantinea (ii. 469 no. 11), Munich (vi. 110 no. 1), in stone at Nîmes (vi. 110 no. 2), and even in amber at Oedenburg (iv. 293 no. 6). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 315 ff., H. Herter *De Priapo* Giessen 1932 p. 193 ('Priapus agriculturalum potius exemplo hoc vestimenti genere uti videtur'), R. Egger 'Genius Cucullatus' in the *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 1932 xix. 311—323 (two altars inscribed *Genio Cucullato* in a small Celtic temple at Wabersdorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshipped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telesphoros travelled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi 'Telesphoros' in *Egyptisches Philologisches Kolloquium* Budapest 1933 lvii. 7—11 (the cult of Telesphoros was essentially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waele in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth 'may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telesphoros, as Euamerion...in Titane (Paus. ii. 11, 7)'), F. M. Heichelheim 'Genii Cucullati' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* Fourth Series xii. 187—194 ('among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the *cucullus* were assimilated not only to the Roman *genius* and the eastern Telesphoros...but also to the Cabiri....A survival of the *genii cucullati* in the similar representations of dwarfs, hobgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period...does not seem unlikely').

ii. 1089 *Grabphallōs*. Paus. 8. 34. 2 (near Megalopolis) γῆς χῶμα...ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθον πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χῶματι ἐστὶ δακτύλον μῆμα is interpreted by C. Belger in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 14, 1892 p. 640 as a *phallōs*. But see the facts collected by Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 354—357.

ii. 1090 *Zeus Hōrios*. On Zeus 'Opōios see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 62, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* Kristiania 1920 iii. 33, and E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 648. It must be borne in mind that Zeus 'Opōios was not merely the Greek rendering of Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis*, but also a genuine Hellenic deity, the natural protector of boundaries. Plat. *legg.* 842 E Διὸς ὅριον μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω· μὴ κινεῖται γῆς ὅρα μηδὲς κ.τ.λ. implies the sanction of long-standing usage. The calendar of the Attic *tetrapolis* found at *Koukoumnari*, which dates from the earlier part of 1. iv B.C., prescribes for Skirophorion the sacrifice of a sheep to Zeus 'Opōios (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 1, 11 = J. de Protot *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, a 11 [ῥάδῃ δ' ἄρχων θέ?]ει· Διὶ Ὀρίῳ οἷς Δι-). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god ([Dem.] *de Halonnes*. 39 f. καὶτοι Χερρονήσου οἱ ὅροι εἰσιν, οὐκ Ἀγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμοὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀρίου, ὅς ἐστι μεταξὺ Πτελεῶς καὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, ἣ ἡ διορυχὴ ἐμελλε Χερρονήσου ἔσεσθαι, ὡς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀρίου δηλοῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτ'· τὸνδε καθιδρύσαντο θεῶ περικαλλέα βωμόν | Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεῶς μέσσω ὅρον θέμενοι | ἐνστάται, ἀμύριος σημήϊον· ἀμύριος δὲ | αὐτοῖς ἀναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης (J. H. Vince translates 'Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land.' F. Blass had c). μούρη σημήϊον ἀμύριος τε on the strength of *Od.* 20. 75 f.)). Hence Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπίθετα Διότι...* 71 ὁρίου, *ib.* i. 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διότι...* 66 ὁρίου. Cp. a dedication of the Abderites to Hadrian as *Τραϊανῷ Ἀδριανῷ | Σεβαστῷ Ζητὶ Ἐφορίῳ* (G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικά* 1937 viii. 29 = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 386 no. 170).

ii. 1091 ff. *Zeus Mellichios*. Short studies of this cult in H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Mellichios') and M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (*E Symbolis Philologicis* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsalae 1932 pp. 224—227. G. Blum 'Μελίχιος' in *Le Musée Belge* 1913 xvii. 313—320 held that the appellative meant 'malice des abeilles,' c'est-à-dire des âmes' (A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 423 n. 4): *cp. Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 19.

ii. 1095 *κόρβαι*. M. Guarducci "'Axones" e "kyrbeis" in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 1929—1931 vii. 101—107 distinguishes ἀξῶνες, three or, more probably, four tables of wood set at an angle to each other and revolving on a common axle, from *κόρβαι*, prismatic or pyramidal blocks of stone tapering towards the top but not made to move: both forms of monument were inscribed *boustrophedon*. She publishes the limestone fragment of a law-*κόρβαι* from *Prinias* (Rhizenia?) and compares with it the inscribed tapering stone from *Dreos* (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 2 no. 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from *Chios* (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Nordionische Steine* (*Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1909 Phil.-hist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pl. 2 no. 25), E. Schwyzler *Dialectorum Graecorum exempla epigraphica potiora* Lipsiae 1923 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod *A selection of Greek*

historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C. Oxford 1933 p. 1 ff. no. 1). See now M. Guarducci in *Inscr. Cret.* I. 84 ff. Dreros no. 1, 297 f. Rhizenia? no. 7. Note also the pillar of Poseidon, made of brass and inscribed with the laws, in the island of Atlantis (Plat. *Kritias* 119 c ff.). L. B. Holland 'Axones' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 302 (unpublished).

ii. 1099 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Litalos* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1926 lvii. 556 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1926).

ii. 1101 Zeus *Xenios*. J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 6—8 ('Zeus Xenios'), O. Weinreich *z.v. 'Xenios'* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 522—525 (a careful and comprehensive collection of data).

ii. 1102 n. 4 *Arantides*. H. Krahe 'Zu makedonisch APANTIZIN · EPINTZI' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

ii. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 lvi. 77 f. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-krater, said to have been found at Corinth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Meilichios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakchyl. 17. 46 ff.

ii. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykaios*. H. Vorwahl 'Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'

ii. 1105 Zeus *Meilichios* enthroned. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 3 cites a votive relief in the Museum at Corfu (inv. no. 352), which represents Zeus seated to the right on a rock with a sceptre in his left hand, a *phidde* in his right. On either side of him two snakes advance, raising their heads. Before him are traces of a small female votary with uplifted arm. The relief is inscribed in letters of c. iii or earlier 'Ηγησώ Δαί Μελιχίω.

ii. 1114 Zeus *Meilichios* associated with Helios. S. G. Parakeualdes in the 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1932 άρχ. χρον. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of c. 200 B.C. Τείμης Εόκτιμένη | άφείλει έλευθέρω | Ηέλευσιν έπό Δία και | Άλιον, άνένκλητον | μοι γενομένην, | έπει κε τον βίον έγλίπη. | Τείμης Εόκτιμένη | άφείλει | έλευθέρω | έλευθέρω | υπό Δία και | Άλιον. He quotes other manumissions υπό Δία Έην | Ηλιον (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 1212 with n. 2, *supra* ii. 729 n. o) and υπό Δία | Ηλιον (K. A. Rhomaios in the 'Αρχ. Δελτ. 1924—1925 ix παράρ. 5 Thermos).

ii. 1115 Zeus *Meilichios* at Sounion. In the fortress outside the temple at Sounion G. P. Oikonomos in 1924 found 'a votive stele to Zeus Meilichios, with two snakes displayed symmetrically' (A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 274, cp. G. Welter in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 314).

ii. 1124 n. o a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such γραμματικά έκπώματα have been listed and discussed by C. Picard 'A propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d'un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Ecole Française de Rome) 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 174—178 ('ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΠΩΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which no. 7 is a *stamnos* from Fassano with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548), no. 15 a *kylix* of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion incised [άμ]φωρις Διός Σωτήρος (B. Pharmakowsky in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed *kántharos* from the Peiraieus lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ] ΣΩΤΗ[ΡΟΣ]. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

ii. 1132 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *Eránische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 43: 'So hören wir (Yt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestät in Gestalt eines Vogels von Yima entfernte, als derselbe anfang lugnerische Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestät auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie überging.'

ii. 1132 n. 4 the sceptre of Zeus. Cp. Hes. *cat. frag.* 123 Kinkel, 103 Rzsch, *ap. Plat. Min.* 320 D (Minos) δι βασιλεύτατος έκει καταδηγών βασιλέων | και πλείστον ήρασε περικτόνων ανθρώπων | Ζηνός έχων σκήπτρον· τῷ και πολλών βασιλευν.

ii. 1132 n. 6. On sceptre-worship see also M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 123 n. 5.

ii. 1135 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xlv). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby 'The Central Part of the



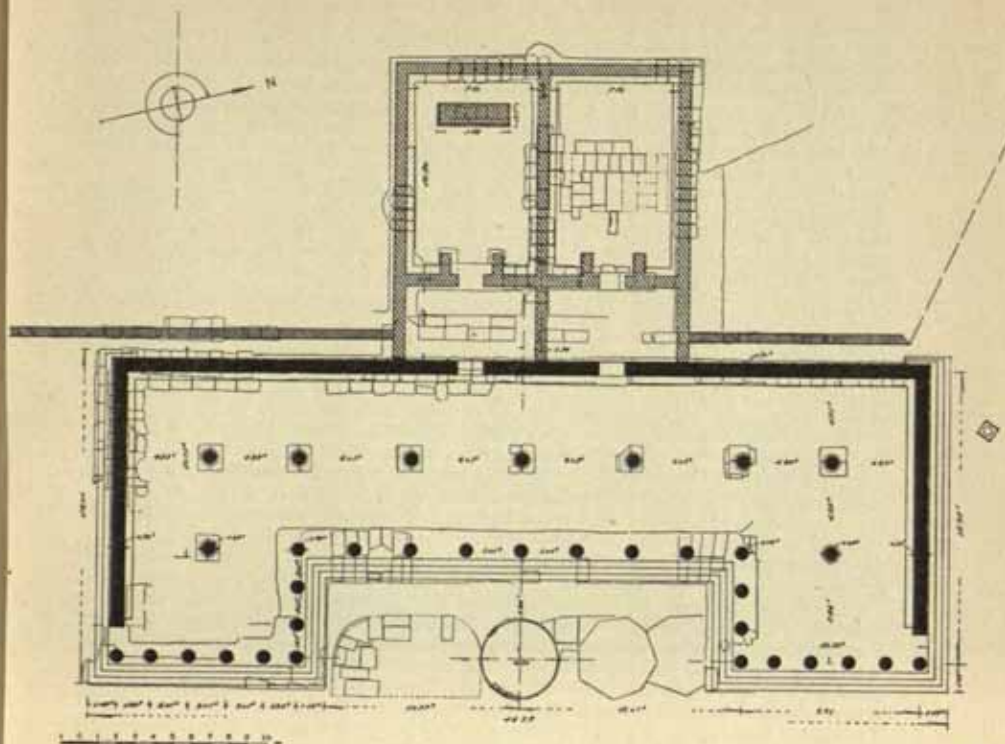


Fig. 923.

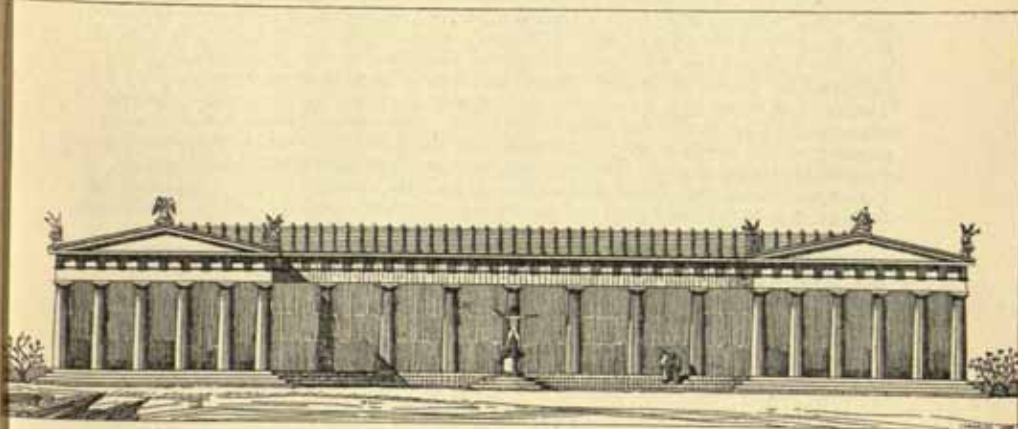


Fig. 924.

Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 555 f.) observes that exquisite sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lily Ross Taylor 'Seats and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 121 and *ead.* 'A Seilisternium on the Parthenon Frieze' in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirchoff Lake* London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the *peplos* was intended, not as clothing for the *xoanon* of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the *K. Humanistika Velenskapsamfundets i Lund Årsherättelse* 1933—1934 i (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the *Stoa Basileios* and identified it with the *Stoa* of 'Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.' O. Walter 'Zeus- und Königshalle der Athener Agora' in the *Jahresh. d. aest. arch. Inst.* 1936 xxx Beiblatt pp. 95—100 maintains that the *Stoa Basileios* (c. 500 B.C.) was distinct from the *Stoa* of Zeus Eleutherios (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the *Agora* (*Hesperia* 1937 vi. 225 f.). Thanks to their highly successful researches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the *Stoa Basileios* was identical with the *Stoa* of Zeus Eleutherios, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building contributed by H. A. Thompson to *Hesperia* 1937 vi. 5—77 ('Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 2 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 923) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the *Stoa* (rectangular base of *póros* with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of Zeus Soter or Eleutherios (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1175 *ἐν ἁσρεὶ Δία Σωτῆρα τιμῶσαν, ἔρθα καὶ Σωτῆρος Διὸς ἰσθὺν ἱερὸν: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνοῖσι καὶ Ἐλευθερίον φασί*), who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpokr. s.v. 'Ἐλευθέριος Ζεὺς: Ὑπερίδης (*frag.* 25 p. 279 a 32 ff. Sauppe) "τῷ μὲν τοῖνυν Διὶ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἑκωννῆα γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἔξῃλευθεροῦν τὴν στοάν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ." ὁ δὲ Διδυμὸς φησὶν ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα: ἐκλήθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτῆρ, δομαζέται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, ὅμοιοι καὶ Μενάνδρου, cp. *et. mag.* p. 329. 44 ff.). The pre-Persic statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation *Eleutherios*. When the *Stoa* was designed, c. 430 B.C., room was left in front of it for the famous figure on a large circular base. The building, which was virtually completed by 409/8 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 112, 7 f. [πρόσθεν τῆς] Στωᾶς τῆς Βασιλείας), was a Doric colonnade with a *façade* of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikles' Propylaea. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. 1. 3. 3); on 'the wall beyond,' probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokratia and Demos (Paus. *ib.*); also, presumably on the north wall, a painting of the battle fought at Mantinea by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. 1. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 129, Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 2, Loukian. *imagg.* 7, Paus. 1. 3. 4, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 142, 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two *akrotéria* in terra cotta, which represented Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos (Paus. 1. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the *basileús* before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 95 f.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the *Stoa* in s. i. A.D. to secure greater privacy for the court of the *basileús* and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. *in Aristog.* 1. 23).

ii. 1137 n. 0 the *basileús* about to wear Athena's *peplos* (?). Cp. Diod. 1. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) 'Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν πέπλω, Ἡφαίστος δὲ ποδάτω καὶ θώρακι. For interchange of clothing see farther W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 180. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,



photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0.187m long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering  $\text{I} \alpha \rho \sigma \epsilon \mu \iota \tau \omicron \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \iota \nu \iota \omicron \tau \omicron$ .  $\text{ΠΕΛΑΝΑΙ}$  ( $\text{I} \alpha \rho \sigma \epsilon \mu \iota \tau \omicron \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \iota \chi \iota \omicron \tau \omicron \text{ το Πεδραι}$ ). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnese, and A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Achaia) a second small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. o pyramidal tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqara two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses ii (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1926 p. 205 f.). But on Greek pyramidal structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 78-84.

ii. 1150 tomb-ceiling as mimic sky. Sir A. J. Evans in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 26, 1931 p. 485 ff. publishes a temple-tomb close to the palace at Knossos. The rock-cut sepulchral chamber had a central pillar, and the rock ceiling—squares of which were visible between the beams—had been tinted with the brilliant Egyptian blue, or *kyanos*, so that the dead beneath the vault might not be without the illusion of the sky above. See further *id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 975 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus *Meilichios* at Thespiæ, etc. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiæ  $\text{Δεξιάδας | Πιέπωνος | I} \alpha \rho \epsilon \nu \varsigma | \Delta \iota | \text{Μι} \lambda \iota \chi \iota \omicron \tau \omicron | \kappa \eta \text{Μι} \lambda \iota \chi \iota \eta$ . | κ.τ.λ. and no. 44 another from the same place  $\text{Θρασόμαχος | Θέωνος I} \alpha \rho \epsilon \nu \varsigma | \Delta \iota \text{Μι} \lambda \iota \chi \iota \eta$ . *Id.* *ib.* p. 423 n. 2 refers to A. D. Keramopoulos in the *Arch. Δελτ.* 1917 iii. 422 n. o no. 2 (Lebadeia) a marble *stelion* (height 0.23m) bearing an *omphalos* (height c. 0.05m) and beneath it the inscription  $\text{Σωσίας | Δαίμωνι | Μιλιχίω}$  with a snake creeping up towards it: Keramopoulos observes that *Δαίμων* *Μιλιχίος* may well be the *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων*. Plassart p. 423 n. 3 adds A. Jardé—M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 374 ff. no. 15 (Anthedon) a marble *stèle* (height 0.40m) with a snake [*Ἀ*]  $\text{Πολλυνίδης | [Κ]αρυσσοδ[του] | [Δι]εῖ (or [Ζη]εῖ?) Μιλ[ι]χί[ω]ς}$  found above the door of the church of Hagios Athanasios, which appears to stand on the site of the sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios*.

ii. 1153 n. 1. See further P. Kretschmer 'Oidipus und Melampus' in *Glotta* 1923 xii. 59-61, E. Fränkel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 447, H. Petersson in M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 105 n. 11, L. W. Daly in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2104 f.

ii. 1155 Zeus *Meilichios* in Thessaly. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebae Phthiotides) a white stone inscribed  $\text{Δι Μελιχίω | Κρινώ | Ἀρσ[α]? | ἀνέθ[η] | [κ]εν}$ .

ii. 1156 Akrisios. A. H. Krappe in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 157 treats Akrisios as 'le vieux dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akrisios' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Kronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale *motif* may be traced in both myths and even in the quasi-historical legend. L. Bieler in *Wiener Studien* 1931 xlix. 120-123 ('Der Tod des Akrisios') regards *Ἀκρίσιος* as Illyrian, *Τευραμίδας* as 'vorgriechisch-pelagisch.' H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akrisios' *ib.* 1933 li. 141-143 argues that both *Ἀκρίσιος* and *Τευραμίδας* are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Samos. E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1924 xlix. 42 no. 9 a votive inscription from *Tigani Κλέας Μεγάλου | Δι Μιλιχίω*.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Nisyros. W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1932 lvii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 213 f. no. 52)  $\text{Καλλικράτην I} \epsilon \rho \eta \alpha \text{ πατρός γεγαῶτα Θέωνος | Ζηνός Μελιχίω ελευτή Νείσωρος δειδεί and Ζεὺ μ[ε]δ[ω]ν Νείσωρος, ἀπ[ο]ήμωνα σώζε θέωνα | Καλλικράτους, δι στέφαν, ἐκε τὸς εἰρὸς ἐρύχθη}$ . The two distichs are engraved within two wreaths on a *tabula ansata* of white marble. R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 765 adds *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 95 and 96.

ii. 1157 Zeus *Meilichios* in Kypros. T. B. Mitford in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1937 lvii. 29 no. 2 a boundary-stone at Amathous  $\text{ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥ}$  in large lettering with  $\text{ΩΝ}$  (*quid?*) in smaller lettering to the left of the second line.

ii. 1157 n. o Zeus *Apotropaïos*. E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* London 1888 ii. 13, 61, 68 no. 14 pl. 22  $\text{I} \epsilon \rho \omega \varsigma \Delta \iota \text{[ὸς Ἀπ]οτρ[α]ίου}$  on a stone found in the *témenos* of Hera.

For the sale of priesthoods at Erythrai see L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 257 f. ('Lese Früchte' no. 280) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus *Meilichios* (after S. Ferri *Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca* (Collezione *Γραφή*. 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10).

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gábrici of a sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. This small *témenos* occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter *Malophoros*, just as the *témenos* of Hekate *Propylaea* occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gábrici's official publication in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 91—107 figs. 53—64

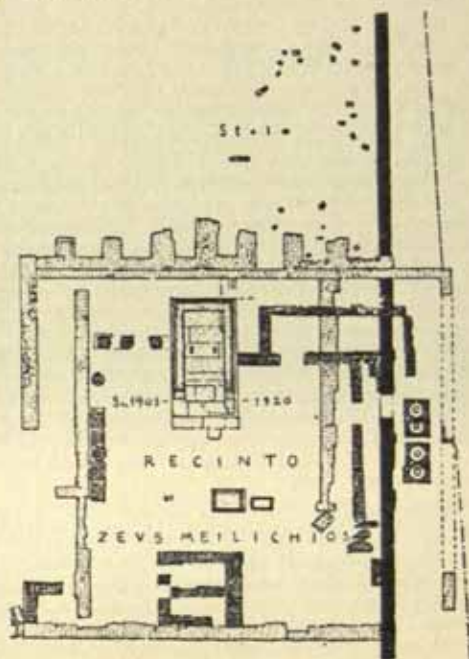


Fig. 925.

('Edicola ed altari di Meilichios e della Pasikrateia (?)'), 174—181 ('Stele figurate del recinto di Meilichios'), 381—383 (inscriptions), 403—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5'20" by 2'97"—a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the *antae*; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 58 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous *stélai*, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μελίχιο ἐμὶ | πρότερον Εὐμενίδος τὸ Πεδιάρχου ('I, the first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pediarchos, belong to Zeus *Meilichios*.' Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 258 cj. τὸ πρότερον Εὐμενίδος(r)), p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 Λυκίσσο (perhaps Γλυκίσσο) ἐμὶ Μελίχιο, p. 382 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 Μελίχιο | τὸν Κλεωιδᾶν, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 τὸ Μελίχιο -- παρὰ --. Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes: over them was erected a *stèle*, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 29, 1—8, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gábrici concludes



that the whole cult had a chthonian character, Zeus *Meilichios* and *Pasikrateia* (?) being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in *Reg.* viii. 7 (8). 25 see A. Mau—A. Ippel *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 162 f. R. C. Carrington in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it early in 1. B.C.

ii. 1159 n. 1. On the names Δάριος, Δάριος, and the like see H. Krahe *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 86 and R. Vulpe 'Gli Illiri dell' Italia imperiale romana' in the *Ephemeris Dacoromana* (Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma) 1925 iii. 131, 145 n. 1, 217. And on the Lares, E. Tabela *Mater Larum* Zum Wesen der Larenreligion Frankfurt am Main 1932 pp. 1—104.

ii. 1160 ff. Zeus *Phlios*. See H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus *Phlios* und Zeus *Meilichios*'), M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (E *Symbolis Philologicis* O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsaliae 1932 pp. 218—224.

ii. 1161 ff. Zeus *Phlios* at Athens. Gabriel Welter 'Eine Weihung an Zeus *Phlios*' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 I. 165 f. publishes an inscription of the early fourth century B.C., found in a Byzantine wall above the *edéon* of Herodes Attikos at Athens and probably

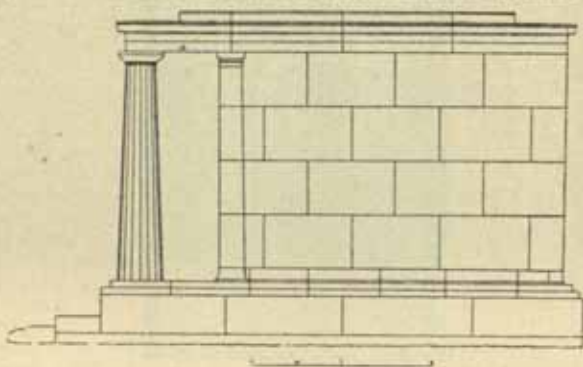


Fig. 926.

derived from the adjoining Asklepieion: *Δυσικράτης [Δ]υσικλέος | ἐκ Κο[λ]ωνῶ Δ[ε] Φιλίωι | [Δ]ελ[θ]ῆ[κεν]*.

ii. 1163 n. 6. H. J. Rose 'The Bride of Hades' in *Classical Philology* 1925 xx. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. *Ant.* 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 71 Dindorf *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φίλων οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὸ ταῦτά βούλεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁμόνοιαν τινα ὅσαν.... ὅτι ἂν οὖν τῷ Διὶ φίλος ἢ καὶ ὁμοιοῦς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐστὶ ὅπως ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει πράγματος ἢ πωρηρὸν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν διανοηθήσεται*; On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlmeier on 'ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ—ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑ' in *Philologus* 1935 xc. 57—77 and 176—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's *τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά*. A. M. Desrousseaux 'Plutarque, *Mor.* 382<sup>cd</sup>' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlv. 210—213 (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 78 διὰ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποπτικὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλοῦσιν, ὡς (Desrousseaux *corr.* ὅτι *νολ*, *quod praeestat*, ἐν ᾧ) οἱ τὰ δοξαστά καὶ μικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῦτα παραμεψάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκείνο καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἁπλὸν ἐξάλλονται καί, διγύρρετ ἀπλῶς (so Reiske for ἄλλως) τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρᾶς ἀληθείας, ὅσον ἐν τέλει (so Reiske for ἐντελῇ) τέλος, ἔχειν φιλοσοφίαν νομίζουσι—from which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in *symp.* 210 A).

ii. 1176 n. 4 Zeus *Ephelios*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 p. 115 f.

ii. 1177 n. 2. Cp. Aristot. *εἰς Ἐρμείαν* 16 ff. Edmonds, 14 f. Diehl *ap.* Athen. 696 D, Diog. Laert. 5. 8, Stob. *flor.* 1. 12 (ed. Gaisford i. 5) τοίγαρ δοιδίμων ἐργοῖς | ἀθανάτων τέ μιν ἀδῆρουνσι (so Wilamowitz for ἀδῆρουνσι) Μοῦσαι, | Μραμοσύνας θύγατρες, | Διὸς Ζερίων σέβας ἀξιοῦσαι φίλως τε γέρας βεβαίον.



Fig. 927.



Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.



ii. 1179 ff. Trajan and Zeus *Phllios* at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 lxi. 177—188 adduces a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete dedication of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστοῦ, and his highpriest ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστοῦ; (2) from 3 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σὺνπατριῶτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, and his highpriest ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σὺνπατριῶτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 19, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became θεὸς Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρ Ζεὺς Πατρώος αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σὺνπατριῶτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους, and his highpriest ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρ Διὸς Πατρώου αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σὺνπατριῶτος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when dead was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus Πατρώος. The documents relevant to this third stage are (a) Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1862—1863 ii. 2. 695—698 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (b) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnen in der Provinz Asia' in the *Jahresh. d. ost. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 101—107 (Ödenisch near Hypaipa); (c) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cp. also (d) a marble pedestal from Aphrodisias, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed Δία Πατρώον | [Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1893 p. 103 no. 13); and (e) a dedication from Dorylaeion [θεῶν Σεβαστῶν Καίσαρι θ] (e) οὐ νῦν Διὶ Πατρώϊῳ, πατρὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σὺνπατριῶτος ἀνθρώπων γένους,] κ.τ.λ. (I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitt.* 1897 xxii. 480 f., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'En y acceptant l'épithète divine, Trajan imitait le plus illustre de ses prédécesseurs; n'aurait-il pas choisi celle de Zeus Phllios, symbole de sa bienveillance, afin de marquer le contraste avec les antiques splendeurs du Zeus Patroos?'

ii. 1187 n. o fig. 990 Zeus *Nemeios* at Alexandria. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not *alinen*. Oak-wreath and *aigis* are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameos (*supra* p. 537 f.).

P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1918 p. 192 f. fig. 39 publishes a dedication (no. 11) from Epidaurios: Ἦρα Ἀργεῖα | Διὶ Νεμεῖω | πατρίῳ[s] θεῶν ὁ ιεροφάντης | Διοργῆς | ἱερὰ πρὸς ἄστυ τοῦ | Σωτήρος τοῦ | ΠΟΔ' ἔτος (= 297 A.D., cp. *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 1001 and 1002).

ii. 1187 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olynthos found Bottiaean pottery of quasi-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson *Excavations at Olynthos* Baltimore 1933 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of 5. vi to beginning of 5. v B.C.)).

ii. 1191 Olympic contests at Daphne. A bronze statuette (height 6 inches) now in the British Museum shows a naked youth carrying a board (?) inscribed in relief ANTIOX-ΕΩΝ | ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ | ΔΑΦΝΗΙ (Sir E. J. Forsdyke in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1929—1930 iv. 70 f. pl. 44, d)—presumably a record of success in these sports.

ii. 1194 emperors wearing the *aigis*. J. Arnet *Monumente des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetts in Wien* Wien 1849 p. 31 f. pl. 18, 2 an onyx engraved with Julian (?) as a beardless Zeus. He wears an *aigis* and holds a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. At his left side is a trophy with seated prisoner; at his right side, an eagle. The legs of Zeus, the field, and the back of the whole gem are covered with 'Gnostic' inscriptions.

ii. 1197 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiocheia add E. S. Bouchier *A short History of Antioch 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268* Oxford 1921 pp. 1—324.

ii. 1213 'Jupiter-columns.' M. P. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 182—184 argues from the wheel etc. that the god in question was a Celtic deity (Taranis?).

ii. 1213 the Column of Mayence. On Quilling's views see also L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1216 the *omphalos* found by F. Courby at Delphoi. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 1 states that in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 (not 1920) i. 172 he did not regard Courby's *omphalos* as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it

('archaïque?') raises many doubts—see P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1915 xxviii. 457, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 49 n. 1. C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 136 still hesitates ('L'omphalos n° 19 n'a pas encore ses lettres de créance bien établies').

ii. 1218 the witch-cult in western Europe. Cp. Miss M. A. Murray *The God of the Witches* London (1933) pp. 1—214 (reviewed by H. Coote Lake in *Folk-Lore* 1934 xlv. 277 f.) and *c. contra* C. L'Estrange Ewen *Some Witchcraft Criticisms* (London) 1938 (printed for the author) pp. 1—6.

ii. 1219 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 82 cites the 'song of the Great Oak'—a Finnish account of the Milky Way 'regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.'

ii. 1221 the axe from Mallia. J. Charbonneau in the *Mon. Piot* 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 fig. 6.

ii. 1221 fig. 1015 relief of victors' axes. For similar reliefs see Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 19 f. Scala i nos. 1 and 2 pl. 9, *ib.* p. 157 Sala degli Orti Mecenaziani no. 6 b pl. 59.

ii. 1221 the 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia. See now H. Mühlestein *Die Kunst der Etrusker* Berlin 1929 p. 85 n. o and p. 228 f., who in fig. 149 publishes a good photograph (Alinari 45 853) of the 'Eisernes Rutenbeil < Labrys > aus Vetulonia < Tomba del Littore > Mus. archeologico Florenz' and refers it to c. vii B.C.

ii. 1221 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures from Vetulonia) in D. R. MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1222 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus (?). S. Benton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1934—1935 xxxv. 85, 98 pl. 21, 1—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously 'the Dodona thrower,' 'the Dodona figure.'

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine 'are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.' See further O. Frödin in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 548 fig. (2) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (0.105<sup>m</sup> high) showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the 'Granary Class' (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1922, 1922—1923 xxv. 40 f. ('The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery')) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1228 Zeus Telesionurgos at Miletos. K. Latte 'Zur Telesionurgos' in *Philologus* 1930 lxxxv. 225—227 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence, he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. *τελεσιουργον παιᾶνα* τὸν ἐπιτελεστικὸν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελούμενων ἱερῶν, where the manuscript reading *τελεσιγύριον* was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuys into *τελεσιεργον*—a blunder perpetuated by M. Schmidt in both his editions. Sir H. Stuart Jones, however, in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1770 (following E. Diehl *Supplementum Lyricum*<sup>2</sup> Bonn 1917 p. 66) says 'prob. a gloss on *τελεσιεργον παιᾶνα* in Pi. Pae. 7. 2.' Unfortunately the text in Pindar is very insecure. O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 3 records Wilamowitz' cj. *τελεσιεργ[ων]* θεοῦ cp. schol. *ἐπεισι*.

ii. 1229 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height 0.61<sup>m</sup>), found in the Peiraieus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a *tympanon* in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her clad in the costume of Asia Minor (*Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*<sup>2</sup> Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1612).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes *progymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 5 f. Walz) *ἀνῶθεν ἀνῶθεν τὰς νεφέλας ὁ Ζεὺς*.

iii. 57 n. 2. J. D. Beazley *Der berliner Maler* Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1930 p. 21 no. 202 pl. 13, 3 fragments of a red-figured *hydria* at Athens (G 251) 'Triballos?' a barbarian in panther-skin (?) with *phallós* on staff, forehead, and nose! Perhaps cp. E. de Chanot 'Géryon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 136—138 pl. 22=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 26 no. 7, if not also Babelon-Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 482 f. no. 1175. To the literary allusions add Iuv. 6. O 26, and see W. B. McDaniel in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 35 n. 1.

iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp 'Παρθέναιος' in *Philologus* 1929 N.F. xxxviii. 259—261 (defends Παρθ- against Παθ-).



iii. 85 n. o (2) fig. 28. This sarcophagus, now at Zagreb, is better published by G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 219 ff. fig. 2.

iii. 165 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe *The Northern Bantu* Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The Basita, whose principal totem is the Milch Cow which has been with a bull, and their second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.'

iii. 245 f. The *epiboleion*, as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.

iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?

iii. 298 the formula *kōnx, ōmpax*. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered *māx, fūx, rīfx* (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 360 μ). *Περὶ μύστην ὁποῦ τρέχει, λέγε εἰς τὸ μῦτος ἐκείνο ὁποῦ τρέχει, κρυφίως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ: μάξ, φάξ, πιάξ, καὶ θάλει ψάσθην*—an extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Rizioti).

iii. 322 n. o *Zētrion ἔδωρ*. Cp. the sacred and curative character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—T. E. Lones *British Calendar Customs* (England i) London 1936 p. 141 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries* Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).

iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 vii. 1662—1686 ('Sieb'), 1686—1701 ('Siebdrehen, Sieblaufen, Siebtreiben').

iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Allotte de La Fuye 'Le Pentagramme pythagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cunéiforme' in *Babyloniaca* 1934 xiv. 1—56 figs. 1—10.

iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for viscera Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyns. v—vi), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that 'the four children of Horus' belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviii<sup>th</sup> Dyn. onwards.

iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now F. W. Freiherr von Bissing *Ägyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit* (Der Alte Orient xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Kanopos' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Kanopos in marble, from Egypt), pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Kanopos in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opfertafel'), pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Kanopos, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands), pl. 8, 18 (a Kanopos with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).

iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser').

iii. 349. Theonoe was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).

iii. 358 n. 6. G. A. Megas in *Hermes* 1933 lxxviii. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaïdes was a folk-tale later localised at Argos. He cites (after B. Chalatanz in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1909 xix. 362) an Armenian parallel, heard at Etschmiatsin in 1899, which however so closely resembles the Greek myth that I should rather assume classical influence, direct or indirect.

iii. 426 the Danaïdes and the fertility-charm. C. F. A. Schaeffer in his *Schweich Lecture* of Jan. 27, 1937 ('Fertility cult and cult of the dead at Ugarit. Devices for libations in the Mycenaean tombs. The jar of the Danaïdes') compared the *πιδος τερπημενοι* of the Danaïdes with the libation-funnels at Ras Shamra. *Id.* 'Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935)' in *Syria* 1936 xvii. 105—148 refers to the period 'Minoen ou Helladic récent III' (i. xiv—xiii n.c.) several sepulchral deposits (p. 112 f. with fig. 4) 'caractérisés par la présence d'un grand entonnoir à libation percé d'ouvertures enfoui verticalement dans la terre avec, à sa base, une accumulation de vases. Parmi eux des rhytons attestent bien le caractère votif de ces dispositifs (fig.

et 4). Comme nous l'avions déjà dit<sup>(9)</sup> (Cf. Rapport de la troisième campagne, *Syria*, 1932, p. 12), ils ont dû servir au rite magique, ayant probablement pour but de favoriser la fécondité de la terre et dont l'une des tablettes de Ras Shamra semble donner la formule<sup>(10)</sup> (U.L.C., *Syria*, 1932, p. 12).

iii. 429 the *manalis lapis*. F. Bömer 'Der sogenannte lapis manalis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 270—281 discusses previous interpretations of this 'Regenstein,' rejecting both the derivation from *manare* and that from *Manes*. He starts afresh from the authoritative statements of Varro (*supra* p. 435 n. 2) and contends that *aquae mánale* meant a 'Handkrug für Wasser,' being derived from *mānus* (cp. *id.* 'Lat. *aquae manale*' in *Glotta* 1937 xxvi. 1—7); that *mānalis lapis*—originally termed *mānale sacrum*—was a sacred water-pot, probably a hollow stone of pot-like formation used for ritual purposes (so O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 n. 1); and that later this *mānalis lapis* was confused with the *lapis Mānalis* or 'stone of the Manes,' Festus' *ostium Orci* (*supra* p. 432 n. 4). Bömer sums up: 'Das Instrument des römischen Regenzaubers war ein *manale sacrum*, ein heiliges Wassergefäß; der wirkliche *lapis manalis*, der Stein der Manen, steht mit dem Regen in keiner Verbindung. Einen *lapis manalis* als Regenstein, an den man bisher glaubte, hat es nie gegeben. Er ist eine etymologische Konstruktion der Antiquare.'

iii. 434 f. the *manales petrae*. T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone* Perranporth (1929) p. 27 no. 51 cites from Morris *Celtic Researches* a 'Maen Glaw' or 'Rain Stone,' 'which they rolled about when they wanted rain,' and compares the *Lapis Manalis* at Rome.

iii. 475 f. the birth of Montezuma. Cp. E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 11 'A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.'

iii. 538 n. o pl. xlv. F. Lenormant 'Jupiter Egiochus, camee sur chrysoprase' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 i. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chrysoprase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Cumont 'St. George and Mithra "The Cattle-Thief"' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Ilori in Mingrelia, as late as c. 1850 A.D., 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the *Βοσκόνοτος θεός* (Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18).

iii. 573 Zeus *Poleiús* and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: 'Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?' *Ead. ib.* p. 301 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus *Poleiús* [*sic*] and associate it with the *Dipoleiá*. She gives the same explanation of the *bucranium*-type (her pl. 5, 1—29).

iii. 580 n. o with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 343 ff. fig. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Diomos, priest of Zeus *Poleiús*, first to slay an ox. But Syntell. *chron.* 153 B (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops *οὗτος πρῶτος βοῦν ἐθυσίει καὶ Ζῆνα προσηγόρευεν, ὡς τιτλι*.

iii. 612 n. o. On the *Βαλληρίς* see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 473. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 98 f. fig. 12.

iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 153 f. maintains that the *Prometheus Bound*, 'if Aeschylus was its author,' must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1938 lix. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the 'Sophoclean features' of the play for 'the latest possible date.' He even suggests that 'Aeschylus left the *Prometheus* trilogy incomplete' and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Euphorion and Euaion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

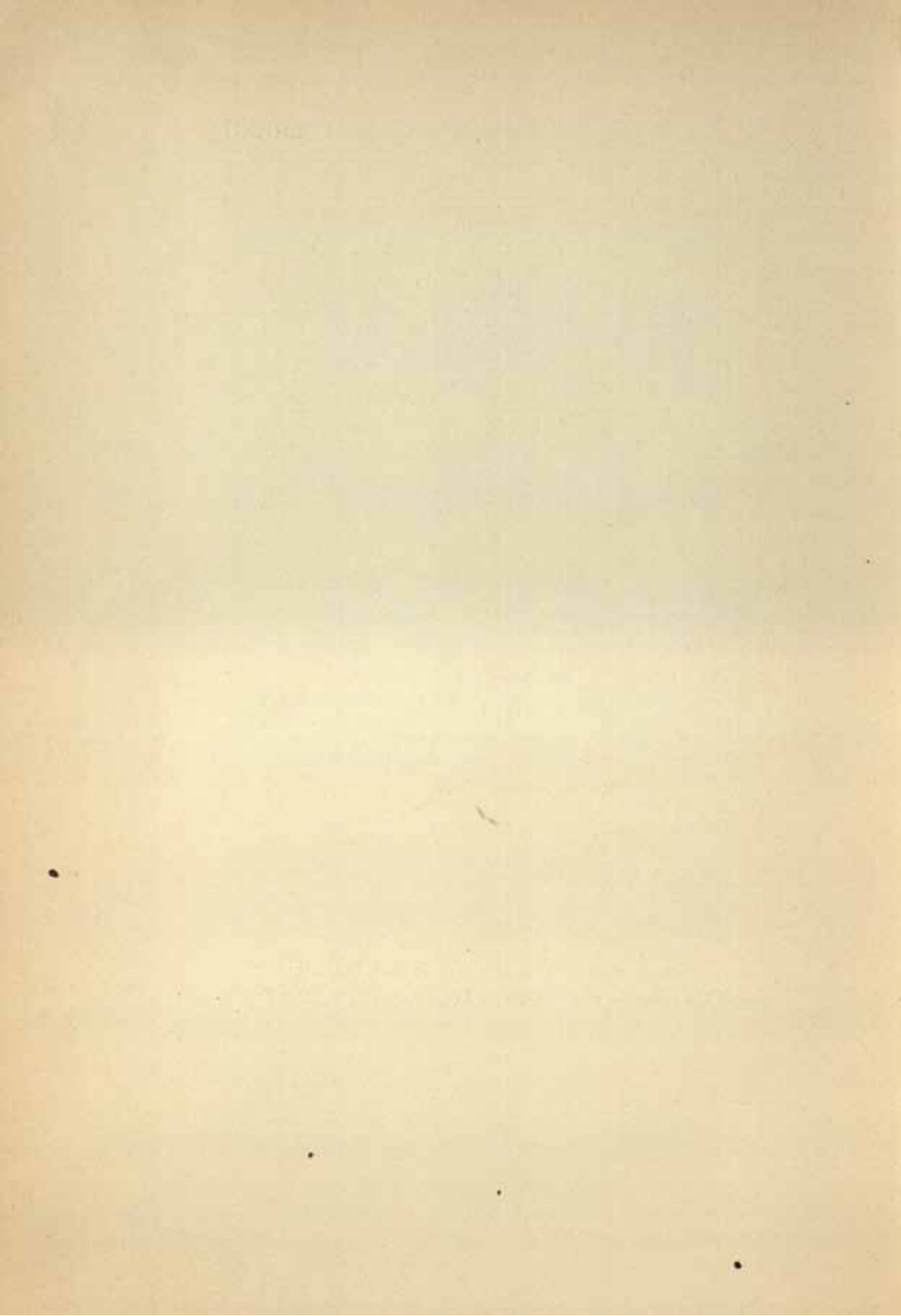
iii. 655 n. o with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus *Ólbiós* can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the *Revue*





Bronze statuette of Zeus *Olympios* from Bulgaria,  
now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

*See page 1196.*







b



a

Fig. 930.

*épigraphique* 1913 i. 172 no. 461 anent an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated  $\Theta\epsilon\omega$   $\text{Ο} \alpha \beta \iota \omega$  observed: 'A la lumière de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n'est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu'il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu'on qualifie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.' Johanna Schmidt in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2430.

iii. 767 ff. guardian snakes in pediment. Cp. J. Johnson 'Apotropaic serpents in Minturnae temple decoration' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 306.

iii. 813 n. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. P. Lemerle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 443 with figs. 4-7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter (fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena Nike mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, a 11 f., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* no. 63, a 11 f.  $\kappa \alpha \iota \beta \omicron \lambda \upsilon \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \lambda \epsilon \theta \epsilon \omega \nu$  'Adiectivum indicat fuisse quidem iam antea aram, sed non lapideam'], *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24, 14 f.].

iii. 832 n. 2. Dr H. Frankfort's paper on 'The Burney Relief' has now appeared in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1938 xii. 128-135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Larsa period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other 'inhabitant of the Land of Death.' Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called 'ring and staff' are either 'a measuring rod and line,' as on the *stèle* of Ur-Nammu, or 'on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,' such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 848 the earliest *Gorgoneion*. F. Chapouthier 'A travers trois gemmes prismatiques (époque Minoenne ['M. M. 1']) in the *Mélanges G. Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 183-201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing *Gorgoneion* with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2 = J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlvii. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

iii. 927 Akmon. On Doias the 'Twin'-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in *Ebert Reallex.* x. 144 and 147 (after A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1907 xli. 347).

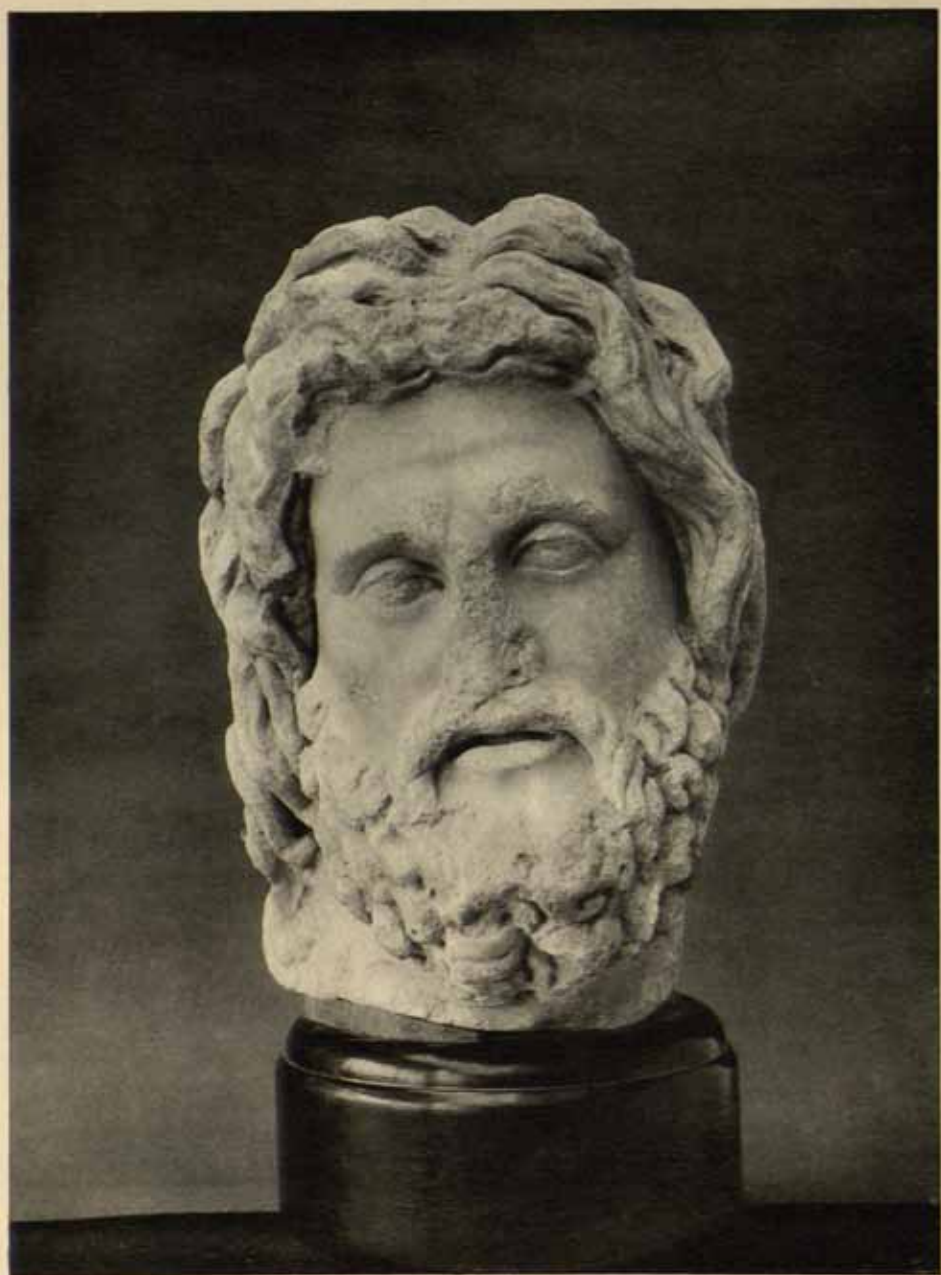
iii. 958 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard 'Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1938 li. 60-63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. *nub.* 401 f. 'Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits!  $\text{Τ} \iota \mu \alpha \theta \omega \nu$ ; eût répliqué le Socrate d'Aristophane, introducteur de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.' This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1937 l. 453 f., to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus *Soter* and Athena *Soteira* at the Peiraieus (Lykourg. in *Leocr.* 17, *alib.*—see Severin Solders *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* Lund 1931 p. 2). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidias Zeus (?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1935 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus *Olympios* recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. lxxxii. He comments: 'It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smero, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is M<sup>r</sup> C. Raikov.'

iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statuary two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adapted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

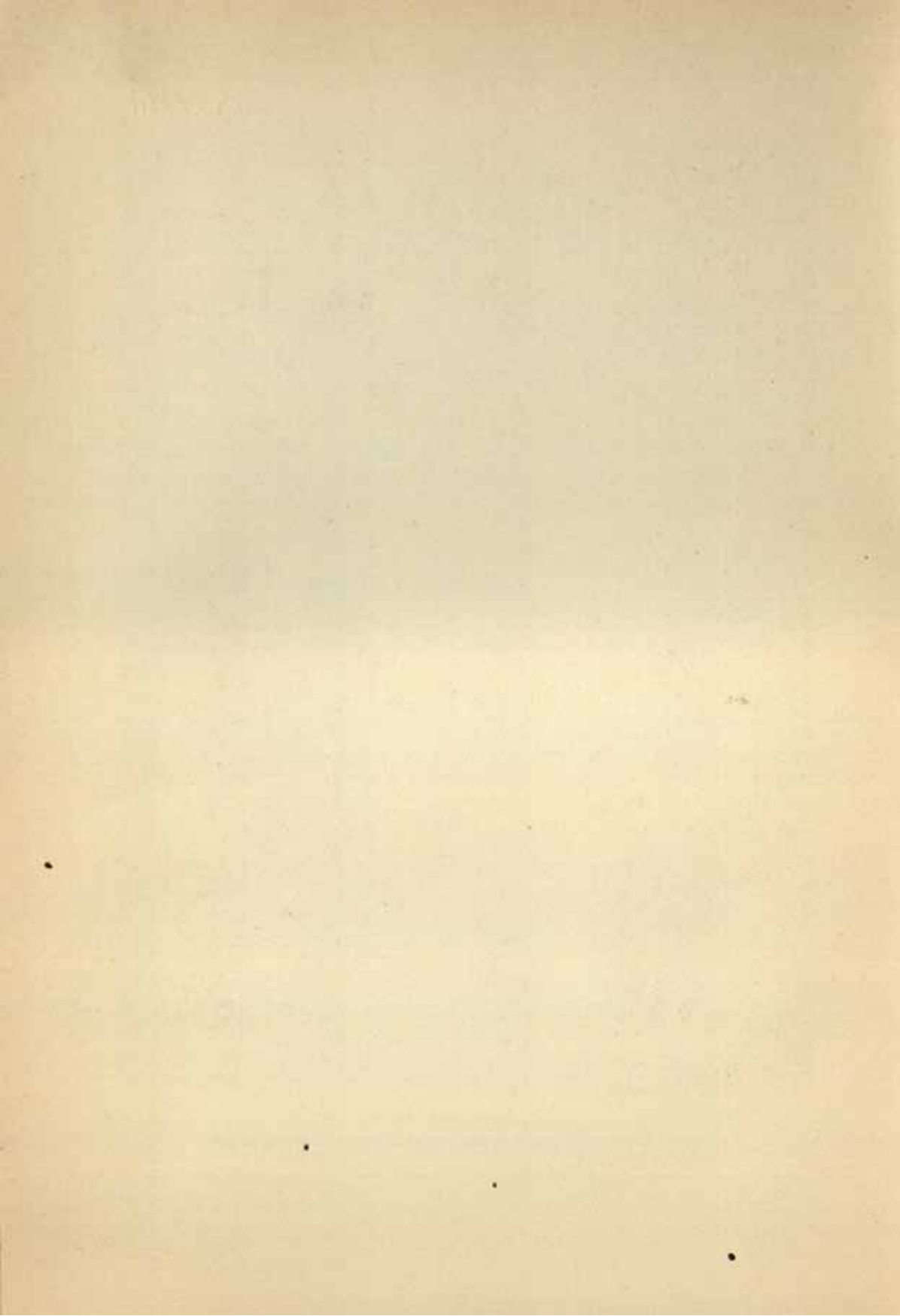
H. Bulle in the *Einzelstudien* nos. 1436 and 1437 (= my fig. 930, a and b) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pentelic marble (height 0.23 m.), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: 'Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer *Herme*.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.





Marble head from Jerash :  
a third century Zeus (?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ.

*See page 1197.*





v. Chr.' Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *fahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 65 says with more circumspection: 'Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.'

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193-197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Harshfield on the east side of the 'Street of Columns' at Jerash (Gerasa). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot 'The Church of S. Theodore at Jerash' in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1929* London pp. 17-36, *id.* 'The Churches of Gerasa, 1928, 1929' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1930* London pp. 32-42, *id.* 'Recent Work round the Fountain Court at Jerash' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1931* London pp. 143-154, *id.* *Churches at Jerash* A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928-1930 (*British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers.* iii) London 1931 pp. 1-48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang *loc. cit.* says: 'Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon débris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more débris mixed with architectural remains....Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.' Garstang well suggests 'that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.' He agrees 'that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.' but adds somewhat inconsistently: 'One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at Jerash? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?' Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: 'The earliest representation of Christ?...a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 5th-century Christian church at Jerash.' I confess that Garstang's enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the Jerash head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (*supra* p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.

# CORRIGENDA

- i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
- i. 117 n. o. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 317.'
- i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
- i. 175 n. 2. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
- i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
- i. 220. For 'bdechos' read 'bdēchos,' and so elsewhere (i. 221, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
- i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. or. ii' read 'Liban. or. 11.'
- i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
- i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
- i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Μυθήην.'
- i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
- i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
- i. 375. For 'Libye?' read 'Libye?.'
- i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 311.'
- i. 474. After 'swastika-patterns' insert 'and.'
- i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
- i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4.' read '471 f.'
- i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'
- i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
- i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
- i. 646 n. 3. For 'Zāw' read 'Zāw.'
- i. 660 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
- i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Küster.'
- i. 717 n. 2. For 'E. Cumont' read 'F. Cumont.'
- i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 1.'
- i. 768 n. o. For 'in Alterthum' read 'im Alterthum.'
- i. 776. For 'millenium' read 'millennium.'
- i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελοποιος' read 'Zeus Πελοποιος.'
- i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- i. 827 s.v. Makedonia. For 'Zeus 126 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
- i. 837 s.v. Phrygia. For 'Zeus Παπίας 393s' read 'Zeus Παπίας 399s.'
- i. 842 s.v. Seimios. For '533 f.' read '553 f.'
- i. 855 s.v. Zeus nursed by. For 'by goat 112 112s' and '720s' read 'by goat 112s' and '720s.'
- i. 856 s.v. Zeus Attributes. For 'blue mantle 33s' read 'blue mantle 33.'
- i. 867 s.v. Fick, A. For '690s' read '690s.'
- i. 867 s.v. Fire. For 'Zeus 702s' read 'Zeus 702s.'
- i. 870 s.v. Heydemann, H. For '698s' read '698s.'
- i. 870 s.v. Hill, G. F. For '356s' read '356s' and for '602s' read '602s.'
- i. 875 s.v. Nilsson, M. P. For '669s' read '669s.'
- i. 879 s.v. Rolland, E. For '357s' read '257s.'
- i. 882. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (cont.)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (cont.).'
- ii. 864. For 'nforms' read 'informs.'
- ii. 1093 n. 1. For 'recques' read 'grecques.'
- ii. 1096 n. 4. For 'μοιούμενον' read 'δμοιούμενον.'
- ii. 1113 n. o. For 'δνομάζοντες' read 'δνομάζοντας.'



ii. 1323 *s.v.* Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been *s.v.* Syra.

ii. 1361 *s.v.* Eitrem, S. For '1043<sub>11</sub>' read '1143<sub>11</sub>'.

iii. 57 n. 2. For 'ἀπιδόρυοις β' read 'ἀπιδόρυοις β'.

iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'

iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'

iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 2089' read 'iv. 2089.'

iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gábrici' read 'Gàbrici,' and so on p. xxi of vol. ii.

iii. 416 n. 0. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzetz.'

iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là.'

iii. 775. For '(fig. )' read '(fig. 569).'

iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.

iii. 981. For 'pl. lxi' read 'pl. lxx.'



Fig. 931.

*Zeus Trifas*  
on a bronze coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia  
(Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*  
p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).  
*Supra* ii. 571 n. 6.



# INDEX I

## PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Worshippers Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, gd. = granddaughter, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

- Abaddir  
*Cults*: Manliana 937<sub>9</sub> Poeni 937<sub>9</sub>  
*Epithet*: Sanctus 937<sub>9</sub>  
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- Abbeville, statuette of pantheistic Zeus at 1129
- Abdera, coins of 1002 f. 1008
- Aberkios, epitaph of 972<sub>9</sub> 1128
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*Cult*: meteorite 886  
 — coins of 856<sub>9</sub>
- Acerbas 646<sub>9</sub>
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- Achero 98<sub>9(10)</sub>
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*Myth*: Penthesileia 956  
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 — shield of 596 f. when dead demands bride 395 (?)
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 Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093  
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- Agamedes  
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- Agamemnon  
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- Agapius, St 1102
- Agatha, St 447<sub>4</sub>
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## Aglibol

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## Agni

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## Agra

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## Aiakos

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## Aias

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## Aigaion, Mt 929

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## Aigeira

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— coins of 1107 colossal head of Zeus from 1107 f.

## Aigeus

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## Aigina

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Festivals: Amphiphorites (*Ἀμφίφωρος ἄγας*) 603<sub>12</sub> Delphinia 603<sub>12</sub> Hydrophoria 603<sub>12</sub>

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— coins of 1164 (?)

## Aigina, d. of Asopos 1121 f.

## Aigion

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## Aiolos Hippotades

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*Etymology*: 107<sub>3</sub>

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Aiolos, Islands of, called Plotai 987

## Aion

*Cult*: Alexandria 913

*Epithet*: Αἰὼν Αἰώνιος 913<sub>4</sub>

*Rite*: birth from Kore 913

*Function*: syncretistic deity combining  
Chaldaean, Persian, Phoenician,  
Egyptian, and Gnostic elements  
913<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes*: horned lion 1180 Hydra

1180 Kerberos 1180 two snakes 1180

*Types*: leonine head, four wings, four  
arms, eye on chest, lion-heads on  
belly and both knees, etc. 1180  
naked child marked with five golden  
crosses 913 916 f. phoenix with  
radiate nimbus 913<sub>4</sub> standing in  
zodiacal ring carried by Atlas 1128  
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## Aisa

*Genealogy*: d. of Nyx 718<sub>1</sub>

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Aischylos, date of P.r. by 634<sub>2</sub> 1194 makes  
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on Zeus and the problem of evil  
974

## Aither

*Cults*: Amaseia 879 Orphists 879

*Epithets*: 'Αλεξιχάλατος 879 Διὸς Αἰθήρ

454<sub>1</sub> pater 453<sub>2</sub> pater omnipotens

452<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Nephelai 70 879

*Function*: rain 452<sub>2</sub>

Aithra 485<sub>0</sub> 485<sub>12</sub>

## Aitne, Mt

*Cults*: Hadran 177<sub>0</sub> Hephaistos 177<sub>0</sub>

*Myths*: Briareus 3<sub>0</sub> Enkelados 3<sub>0</sub>

Typhoeus 3<sub>0</sub>

## Aix, d. of Helios

*Myth*: hidden by Ge in a Cretan cave,  
where—tended by Amaltheia—she  
nurtures infant Zeus with her milk  
839<sub>0</sub> 840<sub>0</sub>

*Compared with* Minotaur in Labyrinth  
840<sub>0</sub>

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## Akamantes

*Cults*: Kyrene 115 Marathon 115

*Functions*: the dead 116 (?) winds  
116(?)

## Akanthos in Egypt

*Cult*: Osiris 338

*Rite*: priests empty Nile-water daily  
into holed pithos 338 f. 354 372<sub>2</sub>

## Akephalos Theos 1127

## Akeso 1083

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## Ak Kiliisse

*Cult*: (Zeus) Πάλας 1140 (?)

## Akmon

*Genealogy*: twin-b. of Doias 1196 of  
Ouranos 927

*Function*: servant of mountain-  
mother 922

*Etymology*: 925

*Identified with* Kronos 927<sub>0</sub> Ouranos  
927<sub>4</sub>

## Akmoneia

*Cult*: Zeus 794

— coins of 794 1070

## Akragas See Agrigentum

## Akraiphia

*Cult*: Zeus Κεραῖος 1162 1165

## Akrisios

*Myths*: imprisons Danaë in bronze  
chamber 364 455 expulsion of infant  
Perseus 1187 sends Danaë and  
Perseus adrift in a chest 455 killed  
by diskos of Perseus 1187

*Genealogy*: f. of Danaë 364 f. of Danaë  
by Eurydike d. of Lakedaimon  
455

*Identified with* Kronos (?) 1187

## Aktaion

*Type*: Polygnotos 1067

Aktaion, f. of Aglauros 242<sub>1</sub>Aktaios, f. of Agrauros 55<sub>2</sub> 242

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## Aleos 823

## Alexander the Great

*Personates* Zeus 540<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: leonine 957<sub>0</sub> Lysippos 957<sub>0</sub>  
thick neck, upward glance, leonine  
hair 540<sub>0</sub> wearing aegis as chlamys  
540<sub>1</sub>

*In relation to* Zeus Ammon 1076 f.  
(bibliography)

— coins of 226 consults oracular trees  
of Sun and Moon in Prasiak 420<sub>0</sub>  
hurls spear at Troas 754<sub>2</sub> reverts to  
pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus  
1155 f. sacrifices to Liber Pater  
in Thrace 1118

## Alexandria

*Cults*: Aion 913 Demeter 990 ff.

Isis 346 Kore 913 Osiris 346 ff.

Serapis 553<sub>2</sub> Zeus Νέμεος 1191

*Rites*: birth of Aion 913 ἡ τοῦ καλῶτος  
πρόδοτος 990

— coins of 346 ff. 904<sub>2</sub> 913<sub>4</sub> 991 f.  
1045 1111 f. 1191 Koreion at 913  
Serapion at 553<sub>2</sub>

## Alexandros

*Myth*: Helene 78

Ali, Abbas 1168 ff.

## Aliphera

*Cults*: Asklepios 126<sub>5</sub> Athena 126<sub>5</sub>  
Zeus *Aexedrys* 99<sub>6</sub> 127<sub>6</sub>

Alipheros, eponym 126<sub>5</sub>

Alkamenes 169<sub>6</sub> 171<sub>6</sub> 215 216<sub>1</sub> 223 722<sub>2</sub>

Alkestis dies for love 99<sub>3</sub>

Alkman brings *kalathiskos*-dance from  
Sardeis to Sparta 1008 (?)

## Alkmene

*Myth*: consorts with Zeus 506 ff. 518

*Genealogy*: w. of Amphitryon and m.  
of Herakles by Zeus 506

*Type*: seated as suppliant on altar  
511 f.

Allât 914<sub>1</sub>

Aloeus 4<sub>9</sub>

Alybe (Halybe) 1101

Amalberga, St 838<sub>1</sub>

Amalkeides 121

Amaltheia the goat

*Myth*: flayed by Zeus, who wears its  
skin 839

Amaltheia the nymph

*Myth*: entrusts infant Zeus to her goat  
839<sub>6</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Dionysos by Ammon  
126<sub>4</sub> (?)

## Amaseia

*Cult*: Aither 'Αλεξιάδατος 879

Amasis, the vase-painter 681 (?)

Amastris = Amasra

*Cults*: Augustus 1163 Ge (?) Κυρία  
1140 Theos Aniketos Ασβαμείος 1140

Theos Hypsistos 'Ερηκοος 'Ηλιος  
1163 Zeus Στρατηγός 148

— coins of 794 'Vogelfels' near  
1162 f.

Amathous in Kypros

*Cults*: Iupiter Hospes (Zeus Ζείριος)  
653<sub>9</sub> Zeus Μελίκιος 1187

*Rite*: human sacrifice to Iupiter  
Hospes (Zeus Ζείριος) 653<sub>9</sub>

*Myth*: Cerastae 653<sub>9</sub>

— scarab from 807

Amathus, s. of Aërias 646<sub>9</sub>

Ambrosia the nymph, attacked by  
Iykyourgos, is transformed into vine

1111 f. gives bowl to Ganymedes (?)  
982

Ambrosiai Petrai 978 ff.

## Amen

*Cults*: Napata 882<sub>2</sub> Thebes in Egypt  
882<sub>2</sub>

*Function*: sky-god 882<sub>2</sub>

*Types*: aniconic 882<sub>2</sub> enthroned bundle  
representing dead man in sitting

posture 1077 meteorite (?) 882<sub>2</sub>  
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Identified with Ba'al-hammân 1076

Compared with Jehovah 884<sub>9</sub>

## Amen-Râ

*Function*: sun 885<sub>9</sub>

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Identified with Zeus 882<sub>2</sub> 945

In relation to Min 885<sub>9</sub> the other ram-  
gods Heryshef, Khnum, and the  
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## Ammon

*Cult*: Oxyrynchos 1076

*Myth*: hides Dionysos 126<sub>4</sub> (?)

*Genealogy*: f. of Dionysos by  
Amaltheia 126<sub>4</sub> (?)

Identified with Zeus 945

Ammonion 882<sub>2</sub> 1076 See Oasis of Siwah  
Amnisos, Artemis bathes in 1032<sub>2</sub>

— Eileithyia, d. of Hera, born in cave  
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Amphitrite

*Epithet*: Ποσειδωνία 1047<sub>11</sub>

*Etymology*: 124 f.

Associated with Poseidon 681 958

Amphitryon

*Myth*: Alkmene 506 ff.

*Genealogy*: f. of Iphikles by Alkmene  
506

*Etymology*: 506

— cup of 507 507<sub>5</sub> thalamos of, built  
by Trophonios and Agamedes 507<sub>5</sub>  
tripods dedicated by 507<sub>5</sub>

Amūn 882<sub>2</sub> 884<sub>9</sub> 885<sub>9</sub> See Amen

Amyklai

*Cult*: Apollon 1109 f.

— throne of Apollon at 220 631<sub>4</sub>  
1109 f.

Amyklaion, relief from 1109 stèle from 1008

Amykos 145<sub>3</sub> 177<sub>9</sub>

Amymone

*Myths*: Satyr 356 Poseidon 361 369

*Function*: fountain-nymph 357

Amynandridai 771<sub>4</sub>

Anagyrous See Vari

Anahita

*Cult*: Persia 916<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 916<sub>1</sub>

Anaitis 1134 See also Anahita

Anaktes

*Cult*: Athens 120

*Priests*: Anaktotéléstai 1068

Ananke, spindle of 1116

Anaphe

*Cult*: Apollon 'Αργελάρας 570<sub>2</sub>

*Festivals*: Angelaia 570<sub>2</sub> Taurophone(i)a  
570<sub>2</sub> Theudaisia 570<sub>2</sub>

Anaxagoras 418<sub>9</sub> 454 481<sub>3</sub> 886

Anaximandros 949<sub>6</sub>

Androgeos

*Cults*: Athens 157 Phaleron 158

*Epithets*: Εὐρυγένης 157 f. κατὰ πρόμνην  
ἦρας 158<sub>4</sub>

*Genealogy*: 158<sub>2</sub>



Andros, Isiac hymn from 986

Anemoi

*Cult:* Tarentum 105 f.

See also Venti

Anemokoitai 104

Anesidora 202<sub>0</sub>

Annakos 527 f.

Anogeia, folk-tale from 1070

Anoubis

*Cults:* Delos 154 f. Egypt 48<sub>0</sub>

— oath by (?) 48<sub>0</sub>

Antaios challenges strangers to wrestling-bout 177<sub>0</sub> keeps in touch with mother-earth 1174 grave of, at Tingis 372<sub>0</sub> 440<sub>0</sub> myth of, influenced by that of Kyknos 440<sub>0</sub> (?)

Anthedon

*Cult:* Zeus ΜΑΛΙΧΙΟΣ 1187

Anthesteria 430<sub>0</sub>

Anthousa 71<sub>4</sub>

Antimachela

*Cult:* Zeus ΤΕΡΙΟΣ 562

Antiocheia on the Orontes

*Cult:* Zeus ΣΩΡΗΣ 22

*Rite:* alytarch of Olympian games personates Zeus 562<sub>3</sub>

— bibliography of 1191 chalice from 972

Antiochos I of Kommagene

*Epithets:* Θεός Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανής 951

*Personates* Zeus Ὁρομάρδης 951 (?)

Antiope

*Myth:* consorts with Zeus 467 469 615<sub>3</sub>

*Type:* pendant to Danaë 469

Antipas, St 1102

Antiphilos, the painter 627<sub>0</sub>

Antisthenes 595

Antoninus Pius

*Personates* Zeus 1130

Aonia 531

Aos 512 See also Heos (Eos)

Apameia in Phrygia

*Cult:* Poseidon 22

*Festival:* Kibotoi 530 (?)

— coins of 293<sub>2</sub> 528 f. 530 named Kibotos 530

Apeliotes 130

Apelles 297

Apesas, Mt

*Cults:* Zeus Ἀπεσάρριος 1165 Zeus

Ἀπέριος 1165

Aphrodisias in Karia

*Cult:* Zeus Ἡραπότορ (= Augustus) 1191

— coins of 1148

Aphrodisias in Kilikia, coins of 763<sub>2</sub> (?)

Aphrodite

*Cults:* Argos 320<sub>4</sub> Askalon 154 Athens

170<sub>0</sub> 171<sub>0</sub> 722 725 f. 726 Athmonia

or Athmonon 55<sub>2</sub> Mt Eryx 172 ff.

Gaza 553 Iouliis 269<sub>1</sub> Cape Kolias

172 Megalopolis 567<sub>0</sub> Paphos 238<sub>1</sub>

1112 1134 Samos 66<sub>2</sub> Saracens 915<sub>2</sub>

Sparta 722<sub>3</sub> Thessaly 271 (?)

*Epithets:* ἀναδουμένη 297 ἐν Ἐλευ 66<sub>2</sub>

ἐν Καλαμῶσι 66<sub>2</sub> ἐν Κρήτει 165 168

Aphrodite (cont.)

169<sub>0</sub> 171 174<sub>0</sub> 722 726 Ἐρώπιος 722<sub>3</sub>

Ἐρωκίτη 175<sub>2</sub> καλὴ 1073 Κτησύλλα

269<sub>1</sub> Μαχαιρίς 567<sub>0</sub> Οὐρανία 55<sub>2</sub> 152<sub>0</sub>

153 f. 171<sub>0</sub> 722 Παφία 899<sub>2</sub> 1134

Χαράρ (Χαμάρ) 915<sub>2</sub> 915<sub>3</sub> 917<sub>2</sub>

*Rite:* sacrifice of heifer 171<sub>0</sub>

*Priestesses:* ἱερόδουλοι 177<sub>0</sub>

*Personated* by woman on ladder (?) 1118

*Myths:* springs from seed of Ouranos

274 springs from seed of Zeus 274

is borne by dolphin to Kypros 274

plants pomegranate in Kypros 817<sub>0</sub>

sleeps with Hephaistos 175<sub>2</sub> trans-

forms Melos the Delian into μηλέα

and Pelias into πέλεια 817<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy:* eldest of the Moirai 171<sub>0</sub>

m. of Eryx by Boutas or by Poseidon

176<sub>0</sub>

*Functions:* mountain-mother 177<sub>0</sub>

unites Sky with Earth 453 morning

dew 172 vegetation 175<sub>2</sub>

*Etymology:* 274<sub>4</sub> 275<sub>0</sub> 276<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes:* bud 1060 dove 175<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>0</sub>

1057 doves 1112 flower 1060 mirror

94<sub>0</sub>

*Types:* acrolithic χείρανος 567<sub>0</sub> Alka-

menes 171<sub>0</sub> (?) 722<sub>3</sub> Capuan 173<sub>0</sub>

Cnidian 970 cone 650<sub>0</sub> crouching

561 Damophon 567<sub>0</sub> Doidalses 471

draped and veiled 681 draped and

flanked by two hovering Erotes 1018

draped and flanked by two winged

female figures (Nikai?) 1016 ff.

drawn by sparrows 831 drawn by

swans 831<sub>4</sub> Fréjus 171<sub>0</sub> 178<sub>0</sub> (?) harm

171<sub>0</sub> 722 holding pomegranate 818<sub>0</sub> (?)

in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve

Gods 1055 ff. leaning on archaistic

effigy of herself 171<sub>0</sub> leaning on

pillar with tree in background 171<sub>0</sub>

Melian 171<sub>0</sub> nude 834 nude goddess

flanked by two Sirens 1016 nude

goddess pressing her breast with

dove or doves flying about her 1016

Pheidias 698 698<sub>2</sub> riding on goat

831 rising from sea 957 f. semi-

draped 698<sub>2</sub> standing with dove on

finger 638<sub>2</sub> with Eros at her shoulder

1022 with uplifted sandal 1020

stepping on to boat 137<sub>4</sub>

*Identified* with Astarte 177<sub>0</sub> (?)

*Associated* with Ares 681 Eros 170<sub>0</sub>

700 (?) 704 725 f. 746 Eryx 176<sub>0</sub>

Poseidon 675<sub>2</sub> 699 f.

*Compared* with ψευξή 747<sub>2</sub>

*In relation* to Astarte 275<sub>0</sub> (2) 276<sub>0</sub> coot

52<sub>1</sub> dove 275<sub>0</sub> (1) (?) Moirai 722

— meadows of 1064<sub>4</sub>

Aphros, forefather of Aphroi

*Genealogy:* f. of Aphrodite by Astynome

276<sub>1</sub> s. of Kronos by Philyra 276<sub>1</sub>

Apidanos 366

Apis

*Types:* bovine bust with solar disk

## Apis (cont.)

between horns and lunar crescent  
round neck 1082 double bust (with  
Isis) 1132

## Apollo

*Cult*: Rome 436<sub>0</sub>

*Epithet*: *pastoralis* 268<sub>1</sub>

*Type*: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve  
Gods 1062<sub>2</sub> (11 f.)

See also Apollon

Apollodoros the mythographer 1103 f.

## Apollon

*Cults*: Amyklai 1109 f. Anaphe 570<sub>2</sub>

Athens 725 Bulla Regia 825<sub>2</sub> Chembis

983 Delos 119 984 f. Dreros 1087

Ephesos 1174 Gaza 553 Gryneion

100 Hybla 1029 Hyperboreoi 106<sub>1</sub>

Karthaia 269<sub>1</sub> Kaulonia 830 Klaros

100 Korkyra 1120 Leukas 137<sub>4</sub>

Miletos 474<sub>0</sub> Peiraiens 1083 Selinous

614<sub>5</sub> Tenedos 1146 Thebes in

Boiotia 507<sub>5</sub> 880 Thespiai 1070 Vari

261 265<sub>0</sub>

*Epithets*: 'Αργεῖος 267 'Αγυαῖος 1120

'Αργελάτας 570<sub>2</sub> Γαλαξίος (?) 880<sub>1</sub>

Δελφίσιος 1087 'Εριφύλλιος (?) 'Ερι-

φύλλιος 321<sub>0</sub> 'Ερπός 261 'Ισμήσιος 507<sub>5</sub>

880 Κάρονιος 996 Καρυνίος 1078

Λατῶς 1047<sub>11</sub> Λευκάδης 137<sub>4</sub> Λόσιος

355<sub>4</sub> Ναυαῖος 100<sub>0</sub> (?) Νόμιος 265<sub>0</sub> 267

Ὀλβιοεργός 630<sub>2</sub> Ὀλβιος 630<sub>2</sub> Πυθαῖος (?)

1120 Πύθιος 725 Σκυλαχέας 418<sub>0</sub> (?)

Φάιος (= Φιλήσιος) 474<sub>0</sub> Χαλᾶριος 880

*Oracles*: Delphoi 100<sub>1</sub> Gryneion 100

Klaros 100

*Rite*: sacrifice of asses 106<sub>1</sub>

*Priestess*: the *Pythia* 100 (?) 1122

*Myths*: is born in Delos 984 f. is hidden

by Leto in Chembis 983 f. borrows

*aigis* of Zeus 314<sub>2</sub> wears *aigis* 866

wraps *aigis* round Hektor 866

rescues Aineias from Diomedes 103

steals Delphic tripod 799<sub>1</sub> visits

Lesbian oracle of Orpheus 99 ff.

woos Thetis 742 Branchos 474<sub>0</sub>

Kroisos 519 f.

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Leto, and b.

of Artemis 744<sub>1</sub> (s.) s. of Dionysos by

Isis, and b. of Artemis 984 f. of

Kydon by Akakallis d. of Minos

414<sub>0</sub> f. of Miletos by Akakallis d. of

Minos 414<sub>0</sub>

*Functions*: hail 880 sun 120<sub>6</sub> 726<sub>5</sub>

welfare 630<sub>2</sub>

*Etymology*: 1135 (?) 1136

*Attributes*: apple (?) 1136 bay-branch

99 bay-wreath 99 bow and arrow

675 hawk 1073 *kithára* and *pléktron*

683 684 swan 757<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: square pillar inscribed KAPN-

ΕΙΟΣ 996 first wooden statue 119

holding double axe 1146 nude,

archaic, advancing to right with

filleted bay-branch and strung bow

1164 with Charites in right hand

## Apollon (cont.)

1124 with hawk on head 46 Kassel

1155 Pheidias (?) 1155 *kitharoidós*

707 ff. 725 contest with Marsyas

659<sub>0</sub> 710 slaying Niobids 955 riding

on swan 831 1136 in car drawn by

swans 830 f. in archaic reliefs of

the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

*Identified with* Aristaios 267 f. Horos

984

*Associated with* Artemis 707 958 Zeus

Βροτῶν 1160 f. Zeus Παρῶς 1174

*Compared with* meteor 885

*Supersedes* Dionysos 1125

— *provenance* of 1135 1137

Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, coins of 856<sub>0</sub>

Apolloniastai 155

Apollonios of Tyana greets Pheidias'

statue of Zeus at Olympia 961

Apulia

*Myth*: Daunus 364

Apulu 88<sub>0</sub>

Apulum

*Cult*: Iupiter Optimus Buxumarius 1140

Iupiter Optimus Maximus Buxu-

marinus 1140

Aquae Albulae 1013

Aquae Cutilliae, floating island in 1012 f.

sacred to Victory (sc. Vacuna) 1012

Aquae Salsulae, floating island in 1015

Aquae Sulis

*Cults*: Luna 863<sub>11</sub> Sol 863<sub>11</sub> Sulis 858 ff.

— bronze head from 862 large pedi-

mental relief from 862 ff. smaller

pedimental reliefs from 863<sub>11</sub> some-

times called Aquae Solis 865

Aquileia in Venetia, mosaic from 627<sub>(2)</sub>

Aquilo 107 162<sub>2</sub>

Arabia

*Cults*: Arsu 1163 Hobal 334<sub>1</sub> Manaf

1163 Morning Star 915<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: Kalila and Dimna 405<sub>0</sub>

Arachova 335<sub>1</sub>

Arados

*Cult*: 'Dagon' 126<sub>4</sub>

— coins of 152<sub>0</sub>

Arantides

*Cult*: Illyrioi (?) 1184

Ararat, Mt 530<sub>7</sub> 531<sub>0</sub>

Aratos, the exordium of 947 953 f. 974

quoted by St Paul 954

Arcadian League, coins of 715<sub>0</sub>

Arcadians called *προεληνοί* 315<sub>0</sub>

— claim to have seen Zeus shake the

*aigis* 314

Archelaos of Priene 37 1070

Archilochos on rights and wrongs of

animals 949

Ardea 365

Arelate, stag-mummers at 1067

Ares

*Cults*: Makedonia 282<sub>4</sub> Papremis 344<sub>2</sub>

*Epithet*: Θαυαλλος (?) or Θαυλος 282<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus 344<sub>2</sub> s. of Zeus

by Hera, and b. of Hebe and



## Ares (cont.)

Elleithyia 744<sub>17</sub> h. of Agraules 283<sub>2</sub>

Functions: originally more than war-god 283<sub>2</sub> (?) fire in air 235<sub>7</sub>

Attribute: hound 683

Type: in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Associated with Aphrodite 681

Arethousa 515<sub>1</sub>

Argaios, Mt. as object of worship 1068 ascent of 1176 image of, as head-dress 1177 image of, in hand of Zeus 1177 small bronze eagle on pillar representing (?) 1177 small bronze eagle on stag representing (?) 1177 small bronze model of 1177

## Arge 1172

Arko 778<sub>1</sub> 779<sub>9</sub> 975

Argonauts, found Amphiphorites (Ἀμφιφορίτης ἀγών) at Aigina 603<sub>12</sub> historical element in myth of 360<sub>2</sub> sent past Planktai by Hera 975 warned of Kyaneai by Phineus 976

## Argos

Cults: Aphrodite 320<sub>4</sub> Athena Ὀξυδερκής 785<sub>1</sub> Athena Σάλαργε 729<sub>2</sub> Demeter Ἠλασγίς 417<sub>6</sub> Hellotis 1092 Hera 65 566<sub>2</sub> 1043 ff. 1085 Hera Βασιλεία 66 Hera Εὐελθούα 725<sub>4</sub> Zeus Ἐρκείος 455 Zeus Μηχανεύς 142<sub>2</sub> 566<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ὀλβιος 631 Zeus Τέριος 563

Epithets: ἀνδροπ 361<sub>21</sub> 368 δειψίαν... χθόνα 361 πολυδύσιον 361 368

Festival: Hyateria 320<sub>4</sub>

Rites: ἱερὸς γάμος 1044 ff. initiation 1046 Ἀρχέπρω 1044 women present veil to Hera 1046

Myths: Akrisios 361 Danaos and the Danaides 355 ff. irrigation by Danaos or the Danaides 361 f. Io 631 ff. Kleobis and Biton 1044 Polynikes 563 Poseidon contends with Hera 751<sub>1</sub> Tyrsenos discovers trumpet 729<sub>2</sub>

— early kings of 67<sub>2</sub> after the peace of Nikias 62 f. Amymonian Waters at 361 archaic bronze vessel at 566<sub>2</sub> bones of Tantalos at 417<sub>6</sub> (?) bronze chamber of Danaë at 455 coins of 355<sub>4</sub> 471 Hellotion at 1092 Heraion at 633<sub>2</sub> tomb of Pelasgos at 566<sub>2</sub> relief of Selene from 1085 f.

## Argos, watcher of Io

Attribute: bull's hide 837

Types: with eye on his chest 631<sub>4</sub> covered with eyes 633<sub>6</sub> wearing ox-hide cape 634<sub>1</sub> wearing panther-skin 638<sub>6</sub>

## Ariatha 1090

## Aristaios

Cults: Arkadia 268 Keos 267 f.

Myths: builds altar to Zeus Ikmaios 266 sacrifices to Seirios 266 saves Keos from drought 266 Sardinia 270

## Aristaios (cont.)

Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Kyrene and f. of Aktaion 266<sub>2</sub> f. of Charmos and Kallikarpos 270

Functions: culture-hero 266 f. king embodying sky-god 269

Type: Zeus-like head 270 f.

Identified with Apollo Agreia and Nómios 267 f. Zeus 270 Zeus Aristaios 267 f.

Aristoteles, false reading for Aristokles (?) 1043<sub>4</sub>

Aristotle 482 f.

## Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Δόκαιος 525

Rite: priest of Zeus Δόκαιος makes rain by stirring the spring Hagno with oak-branch 315

Arkalochori Cave near Lyktos, perhaps the famous cave of Zeus and Rhea 1143 treasure from 1143

Arkesilaos, the sculptor 1022

Arkesine, coins of 820<sub>2</sub>

## Armenia

Cult: Astlik 293<sub>2</sub>

Festival: Vartev 293

Rite: pigeons set free 293

## Armenios 946

Arnouphis 325 f. 332

Arrhaphoria 165 ff. 179 188 236 240 f. 602

Arrhetophoria 165<sub>7</sub> (?) 166<sub>6</sub>

Arsu 1163

Artemidos, St 269

## Artemis

Cults: Agra 725 Athens 1181 Bithynia 992 f. Boiotia 990 Ephesos 896<sub>2</sub> 968 Gygaia Limne 989 Ioulis 269 Messene 66<sub>2</sub> Olympia 1009 Palaio-polis in Korkyra 844<sub>12</sub> Patmos 986 Sardeis 1082 Sparta 1009 1030

Epithets: Ἀγροτέρα 725 Ἀλφειοία 671<sub>6</sub> Ἀμαρυσία 565 Ἀναίτης 899<sub>213</sub> Ἀρίστη 268<sub>6</sub> γαῖδοχοι 10<sub>4</sub> διοτρεφέης 34<sub>2</sub> (?) Ἐλεία 66<sub>2</sub> Ἐλευθέρα 899<sub>212</sub> Ἐροδία 279<sub>4</sub> Ἐφεσία 324<sub>2</sub> 899<sub>6</sub> 900 1133 1134 Ἐροσία 1083 Καλλιστή 263<sub>6</sub> 1124 1181 Κολομένη 989 Κορδάνα 1009 Λυγοδέσμα 1030 f. 1031<sub>5</sub> Μουνυχία 233<sub>1</sub> Ὀρθία 1009 1030 1031<sub>2</sub> 1134 Παγασίτις 1083 Παρθένος 986 Παρμία 986 Περσία 565<sub>1</sub> Σκυλακίτις 413<sub>6</sub> Ταυροπόλις 624<sub>6</sub> 636<sub>6</sub>

Rites: ἀρκτείσταρα 1083 εἰςβρεία (?) 1083 παρθένα 1008 sacrifice of she-goat in girl's clothing to Artemis Μουνυχία 233<sub>1</sub>

Priestesses: νεβροί (?) 1083

Myth: is born in Delos 985

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Leto, and st. of Apollon 744<sub>17</sub> d. of Dionysos by Isis, and st. of Apollon 984

Functions: childbirth 985 moon 726<sub>6</sub>

Attributes: bow 638<sub>6</sub> 725 fawn 640<sub>6</sub> fish 990 two jars 1181 torch 1181 wheel-torch 638<sub>6</sub>

## Artemis (cont.)

- Types*: cult-statue with veil 899<sub>5</sub>(12 f.)  
Endoios 968 hasting to greet the new-born Athena (?) 710 f. 'Colonna' 710 f. riding horned doe 831 slaying Niobids 955 standing with wheel-torch and bow 638<sub>0</sub> in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.  
*Identified with* Bendis 189<sub>1</sub> 233<sub>1</sub> Boubastis 984 Diktyнна 189<sub>1</sub> Oupis 189<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Apollon 707 958  
*In relation to* stags 1134  
*Superseded by* St John the Evangelist 986  
— birthday of 178<sub>0</sub> fawns of 1064<sub>1</sub> two images of, on coin of Aspendos 899<sub>5</sub>(1)  
Artemision, bronze statue fished up from sea off 1151 ff.  
Ascension Day 1193  
Asia  
*Etymology*: 1107  
Asies, nephew or brother of Atys 1107  
Asine, 'Mycenaean' finds at 1192  
Asis  
*Cult*: Euyuk 1106 f.  
Askalon  
*Cult*: Aphrodite Οὐρανία 154  
Asklepios  
*Cults*: Aliphera 126<sub>3</sub> Athens 775 Epidaurus 1182 Inōnū in Phrygia 1146 Nikaia in Bithynia 1182 Pautalia 1182 Sparta 1030<sub>4</sub>  
*Epithet*: Ἀγυρίας 1030<sub>4</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into* snake 1182  
*Etymology*: 1182 (?)  
*Type*: holding serpent-staff and borne through air by winged and bearded snake 1182  
Aspalis 283<sub>4</sub>  
Aspasia  
*Epithet*: Τέφανος (?) or Τυφαννοδαίμων (?) 66<sub>4</sub>  
*Personates* Hera 32<sub>5</sub> 66<sub>4</sub>  
Aspendos, coin of 899<sub>5</sub>(1)  
Aspis ἐν Ἀργεί 356<sub>2</sub>  
Assteas 511<sub>0</sub>  
Assyria, demons of, influence Etruscan conception of Charon 1143  
Assyrioi (= Syrioi)  
*Cult*: dove 1103  
Astaroth, *kteis* of (?) 918<sub>3</sub>  
Astarte  
*Cults*: Delos 152<sub>9</sub> 153 f. Sidon 1023 Tyre 892 f.  
*Epithet*: Παλαστρινή 152<sub>9</sub> 153 f.  
*Myth*: finds fallen star 892 917  
*Functions*: moon 892<sub>4</sub> the planet Venus 892<sub>4</sub>  
*Type*: nude goddess 834  
*Identified with* Aphrodite 177<sub>0</sub> (?)  
*In relation to* Aphrodite 275<sub>0</sub>(12) 276<sub>0</sub>  
— *kteis* of (?) 918<sub>3</sub>  
Asteria, name of Delos 984 f.

## Asterie, Titaness

- Myth*: Zeus 984 f.  
*Metamorphosed into* quail 985 stone 985  
Asterion 619, 628<sub>0</sub>  
Asteropos 1067  
Astlik 293<sub>2</sub>  
Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes  
*Cult*: Zeus Ἀραβόπου 1172  
— excavations on 1172 See also Atabyros, Mt.  
Atabyros, Mt, in Rhodes, geology of 986  
See also Atabyrion, Mt.  
Atargatis  
*Cults*: Heliopolis in Syria 1095 Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093  
*Attribute*: lions (?) 1096  
*Types*: bust with fish-scales (?) on face and chest 1097 bust with two fishes as head-dress 1097  
Athamas  
*Myth*: Nephele 73 f.  
Athanasia 60<sub>5</sub>(12)  
Athanasios, St 1187  
Athena  
*Cults*: Aliphera 126<sub>3</sub> Argos 729<sub>2</sub> 785<sub>1</sub> Athens 749 f. 827<sub>8</sub> 859<sub>1</sub> Ausceas 128<sub>1</sub> Boiotia 608 820<sub>1</sub> Corinth 1092 Crete 126<sub>4</sub> (?) Elis 224 f. Emeas 888 Hephaestia in Lemnos 216<sub>1</sub> Ilion 283<sub>4</sub> Korone 782 Kos 566<sub>2</sub> Mt Kynthos 1172 Lakonike 776 Libya 128<sub>1</sub> 839 Marathon 1092 Megalopolis 567<sub>0</sub> Megara 782 f. Olympia 967 Oxyrhynchite nome 190<sub>5</sub> Peiraieus 659<sub>0</sub> 1196 Pelasgians 226 Pella 869 Pergamon 794 872 Plataiai 773<sub>0</sub> Rhodes 355 Salamis in Kypros 653<sub>0</sub> Sparta 11<sub>1</sub> 661 Syracuse 850<sub>0</sub> Tanagra 567<sub>0</sub> Tegea 1141 Thespiai 1066 Thessaly 608 871<sub>1</sub> Troy 193<sub>0</sub>  
*Epithets*: ἀγλαΐτις 776<sub>1</sub> Ἀγλαΐος 240<sub>0</sub> 246 Αἰθρία 608<sub>4</sub> 782 f. 795 αἰολόμορφη 776<sub>1</sub> Ἀλέα 1141 Ἀλκίδημος (not Ἀλκίς) 869 Ἀρεία 773<sub>0</sub> Ἀρχήγετις 827<sub>8</sub> Βαλερίκη 60<sub>5</sub>(12) Βία 608<sub>2</sub> Βοαρμία 608 Βοῦδεια 608 γλαυκῶπις 193<sub>0</sub> (?) 201<sub>2</sub> 781 834 844 Γοργοεπὶκοος 836 (See Panagia *Epithets*) Γοργῶπις 189<sub>1</sub> γοργῶπις 844 δῶρακα 776<sub>1</sub> δόραμις τοῦ Διὸς 873<sub>2</sub> Ἐγκλάδος 55<sub>5</sub> Ἐλλωρίς 1092 Ἐργάνη 191<sub>8</sub> 795 967 ἐδώδω 763<sub>4</sub> (?) Ζωστειρία 567<sub>0</sub> Ἡφαιστία 216 218 1047<sub>11</sub> θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγυόχοιο 866<sub>7</sub> Ἰαρία 13<sub>0</sub> Ἰταρία 820<sub>1</sub> 871<sub>1</sub> Κόρη 608<sub>4</sub> κοῖρη Διὸς αἰγυόχοιο 866<sub>7</sub> Κυνθία 1172 Λιθία 355 Μαχαρίς 566<sub>2</sub> Μαχαρίτις 567<sub>0</sub> Μήτηρ 225<sub>1</sub> 749 835 Μάριος 762 Νίκη 811 813 1196 Νικηφόρος 794 ὀβριμοπάρη 737<sub>8</sub> Οἰνάνθη 184<sub>2</sub> (?) Ὀμολωίς (at Thebes in Boiotia) 608<sub>2</sub> Ὀξυδερκής 785<sub>1</sub> Παλλὰς 201<sub>2</sub> 573 743<sub>9</sub> Πάνδροσος 246 Παρεία 776 Παρθένος 573 749 823 1155 Πολιάς 213 244 573<sub>4</sub> 614 721 749 758 772<sub>4</sub> 813 Πολιεύχοις 771



Athena (cont.)

- Πρόνοια 727<sub>2</sub> Πρόνοια 727<sub>2</sub> Σάλαριχ  
729<sub>2</sub> Σάλαριχ 659<sub>2</sub> 1196 Τροχόγεια  
123<sub>2</sub> 719 f. 726 Τροχόγεια 123<sub>2</sub>  
Τροχόγεια 126<sub>2</sub> 726 Τύλεια 614<sub>2</sub> 775  
859<sub>2</sub> φιλάνθεος 776<sub>2</sub> Χαλκίαικος 11<sub>2</sub>  
661
- Festivals:** Athenaia 212 f. Chalkeia  
211 f. Panathenaia 720 Plynteria  
224<sub>2</sub> 749 Tritomenis 719<sub>2</sub>
- Rites:** annual fight of maidens among  
Ausees 128<sub>2</sub> annual washing of  
Argive image in Inachos 224<sub>2</sub> 749  
bull-hanging at Ilion 283<sub>2</sub> *lepos*  
γῆρας 224<sub>2</sub> liturgy of Pallas' snake  
775 πέπλος woven at Chalkeia 212  
priestess with *aigis* visits newly  
married couple 225<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of ox  
782<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of ram 782<sub>2</sub> sacrifice  
of sow 225<sub>2</sub>
- Priestesses:** Ἀργυρόφοι 165 f. 212 Auge  
823 drawn from Bouzygai 609
- Personated by** fairest virgin of Ausees  
128<sub>2</sub> priestess 225<sub>2</sub>
- Myths:** birth from head of Zeus 477  
657 f. 737 744 birth at Athens 720  
birth in Crete from cloud cleft by  
Zeus 727 birth beside river Triton  
125 743<sub>2</sub> is wooed by Hephaistos  
218 f. 236 274 734 slays the monster  
Aigis and uses its skin as breastplate  
839 slays the Gorgon and wears its  
skin 844 slays Pallas the Giant, who  
had attempted to violate her, and  
wears his skin and wings 842 adorns  
woman 201 at Ikonion makes images  
of clay 528 brings Kekrops to Megara  
783 809 f. (?) entrusts Erichthonios  
to the Kekropides 238 f. carries  
Lykabettos 238 plants olive-tree at  
Athens 750 f. contest with Gorgon  
about beauty 850<sub>2</sub> contest with  
Poseidon about Athens 750 f. contest  
with Poseidon about Trozen 751<sub>2</sub>  
gives πέπλος to Herakles 1186 helps  
Herakles in rape of Delphic tripod  
799<sub>2</sub> helps Herakles against Hydra  
797 cuts spear for Peleus 209<sub>2</sub>  
superintends building of Argo 778<sub>2</sub>  
779<sub>2</sub> nurses Bakchos or Iakchos  
225<sub>2</sub> would bestow immortality on  
Tydeus 60<sub>2</sub>(3)
- Genealogy:** d. of Brontes 60<sub>2</sub>(4) d. of  
Pallas the Giant by Titanis d. of  
Okeanos 842 d. of Poseidon by lake  
Tritonis 216 d. of Poseidon by lake  
Tritonis, later adopted by Zeus 128<sub>2</sub>
- Functions:** goddess of the Akropolis at  
Athens 189 837 originally Pelasgian  
mountain-mother in Asia Minor 236  
736 831 originally mother-goddess,  
later virgin 737 749 originally wife  
of Hephaistos 200 223 736 867  
mountain-mother 224 246 729<sub>2</sub> 748  
831 866 earth-goddess 200<sub>2</sub> 246

Athena (cont.)

- pottery 191<sub>2</sub> arts and crafts 201  
women's handiwork 795 nurse of  
children 225<sub>2</sub> wisdom 726 727<sub>2</sub> 728  
aither 728<sub>2</sub> 727 728 clouds 729 dawn  
728 (?) morning twilight 728 (?)  
earthquake 8<sub>2</sub> keeper of the thunder-  
bolt 867 second self of Zeus 872 f.  
sneeze of Zeus 662<sub>2</sub> (?) 732 (?)
- Etymology:** 60<sub>2</sub>(3) 191<sub>2</sub> 726 727 727<sub>2</sub>  
728 839<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Attributes:** *aigis* 837 f. 866 f. chariot  
drawn by four winged horses 807  
double axe 190<sub>2</sub> Gorgoneion 837 f.  
Gorgon-shield 39 helmet 811 f.  
winged helmet 820<sub>2</sub> olive-tree 190  
749 f. owl 190 558 776 f. pillar 190  
763<sub>2</sub> pomegranate 811 f. snakes  
189 f. 764 f.
- Types:** primitive pre-warlike 189<sub>2</sub>  
advancing to left with thunderbolt  
and Gorgon-shield 868 f. 871 f.  
advancing to right with thunderbolt  
and Gorgon-shield 869 advancing  
to right with spear and shield 869 f.  
advancing with uplifted lance 573  
Albani 837<sub>2</sub> 857 archaistic 225<sub>2</sub> 837<sub>2</sub>  
868 f. in archaistic reliefs of the  
Twelve Gods 1055 f. bearing dead  
warrior across sea 809 f. bearing  
infant on her arm 218 806 bearing  
snake in basket 218 Bronze Athena  
by Pheidias 225<sub>2</sub> 862 Cassel 837<sub>2</sub>  
858 clay vessel as fetish and symbol  
191<sub>2</sub> cock with human face wearing  
skin of cock's head as helmet 804  
cult-statue in Erechtheion 574<sub>2</sub> cult-  
statue in Peisistratic Hekatompedon  
574<sub>2</sub> Elgin statuette 830 emergent  
from head of Zeus 662 f. 668 f.  
exhibiting olive-plant 755 762 f.  
fighting on Ionic column 1006  
fulminant 793<sub>2</sub> 868 f. grouped with  
Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion  
213 f. gull 783 hasting to right in  
full armour 659 694 f. hawk 781  
holding corn-ears 607 holding crow  
782 782<sub>2</sub> holding double axe 867<sub>2</sub>  
holding helmet in hand 686 687  
human-headed bird wearing helmet  
801 in chariot drawn by two owls  
830 in chariot drawn by two snakes  
769 f. 831 kite or shearerwater 781  
Lanekorónski relief 830 Lansdowne  
relief 779<sub>2</sub> 'Lemnia' 211 216<sub>2</sub> 858  
Lenormant 773<sub>2</sub> letting owl fly 830  
nude (?) 868<sub>2</sub> ornithomorphic pass-  
ing into anthropomorphic 794 or-  
nithomorphic, semi-ornithomorph-  
ic, anthropomorphic in combina-  
tion 799 799<sub>2</sub> *ophrerthos* 225<sub>2</sub> owl  
781 784 f. 837 owl as spinner 795 owl  
with human helmeted head 801 f.  
'Palladion' 573<sub>2</sub> 609 1006 Parthénos  
211 868<sub>2</sub> 933 Parthénos with olive

Athena (*cont.*)

instead of pillar 763<sub>2</sub> Pheidias 933  
(See also Bronze Athena, Lansdowne relief, 'Lemnia', Lenormant, *Parthenos*, Varvakeion) pigeon 781  
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688 seated and weaponless 574<sub>0</sub>  
seated beside Hephaistos 205 seated beside olive 763<sub>2</sub> seated beside Zeus 1049, seated with *phidie*, helmet, spear, and snake 614 seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 ff. setting foot on chariot 807 snake 776 (?) 837 (?) standing before Zeus 663 686 ff. standing beside olive 763<sub>2</sub> standing on knees of Zeus 663 681 ff. standing to left with owl in right hand and spear in left 827 standing to right with owl in left hand and *phidie* in right 827 standing to right with owl in right hand and spear in left 830 standing with lance at rest 573 swallow 782 Varvakeion 773<sub>2</sub> 837<sub>2</sub> 858 vulture 781 wearing helmet with features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. 804<sub>1</sub> winged 88<sub>0</sub> 225, 785 804 ff. winged and advancing to right with brandished thunderbolt and outstretched *aigis* 820 871 winged and armed on Graeco-Roman gems 822 winged and flying to left with helmet, spear, and shield 821 winged and standing *en face* between two owls 822 winged and standing to left carries Nike on right hand and holds shield and spear with left 820 f. winged and standing to left crowns the king's name with raised right hand and holds shield with lowered left 820 winged and wingless on same vase 809 811 with cock on helmet 46<sub>4</sub> with glaucous eyes 216 with owl on head 46

Identified with Basileia 60<sub>5(6)</sub> Gorgon 189<sub>1</sub>

Assimilated to Aphrodite 225<sub>1</sub>

Associated with Hephaistos 200 ff. 736 Herakles 958 Zeus 872 f. Zeus *Maxarēis* 566<sub>2</sub> 567<sub>0</sub>

Compared with Cretan snake-goddess 189 f. 225 f. meteor 885

In relation to Erechtheus 190 758 Gorgon 836 Nike 811 olive-tree 763 f. owl 781 784<sub>1</sub> 789 791 snake 770

Supersedes Demeter 607 f. Ge 188

Superseded by Panagia Γαργαεήκοις 189<sub>1</sub>

— birthday of 719 f. five Athenas 842<sub>4</sub> honoured by Peisistratos and his successors 188<sub>2</sub> motherhood of, passes into maidenhood 224

Athene, early name of Athens 224 748

## Athenis 969

## Athens

*Cults*: Agnostos Theos 1162 Anaktes 120 Androgeos 157 Aphrodite 725 f. Aphrodite *ex Kēptoi* 165 168 726 Aphrodite Oōparia 171<sub>0</sub> 722 Apollon Πόλιος 725 Artemis Καλλιέρη 1181 Asklepios 775 Athena Δραχίγυρις 827<sub>0</sub> Athena Νίκη 811 ff. 1196 Athena Πολιάς 244 573<sub>4</sub> 614 721 749 758 Athena Τύτεια 775 859<sub>1</sub> Basile or Basileia 60<sub>5(6)</sub> Blaute 177<sub>1</sub> Eros and Aphrodite 170<sub>0</sub> Demeter 990 f. Demeter Χλόη 177 Dionysos 604<sub>2</sub> Dionysos 'Ελευθερείς 574 Eileithyia 588<sub>1</sub> Eros 725 f. Eumenides 189<sub>1</sub> Ge Θέμις 168 Ge Καροφόροι 242 601<sub>2</sub> Ge Κουροτρόφοι 177<sub>1</sub> 244 Ge 'Ολύμπια 169<sub>0</sub> Hephaistos 211 ff. 226 f. 721 Hera 60<sub>5</sub> 725 Hermes 725 Hermes Χόρσιος 604<sub>2</sub> Heros *ὁ ἐπὶ βλαστήρ* 177<sub>1</sub> Isis 588<sub>1</sub> Kekrops 771 Kronos and Rhea 169<sub>0</sub> Men 308 f. Meter 67<sub>0</sub> Moirai 721 Nike 'Απτερος 811 Nymphs 308 f. Pan 308 f. Panagia Γαργαεήκοις 189<sub>1</sub> 588 Pandrosos 243 f. Poseidon 721 Poseidon Γαίφοις 11<sub>1</sub> Poseidon 'Ελάτης 9, Sarapis 588<sub>1</sub> Tritopatores 113 ff. Zeus 1196 Zeus 'Ελευθερείς 212<sub>4</sub> 1186 Zeus 'Ερακίος 243 749 Zeus 'Ηραϊός 1047 Zeus Κάριος 569<sub>0</sub> Zeus Μαργαίτης 721<sub>4</sub> Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 604<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ιδρόθμιος 212<sub>2</sub> Zeus Πολιεύς 317 570 ff. 720 f. Zeus Σωτήρ 575<sub>0</sub> 1184 Zeus Τύφιστος 939<sub>4</sub> Zeus Φόλιος 1189

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— Macrobii dwell on 748, shadow of, touches Lemnian cow 1102

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— brass pillar inscribed with laws in 1184

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Myths: Herakles 956 at Polos 417

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— complete deification of, reached through three stages (hero, demi-god, god) 1191

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Axiokersa 1070 1128

Axiokersos 1070 1128 f.

## Ba'al (Baal, Bel)

Cults: Palmyra 1158 Ras Shamra 1156

Function: cosmic power 1159

Type: brandishes club in right hand and holds stylised thunderbolt in left 1156

Associated with Iaribol and Aglibol 1158 f.

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- Bacis, the bull of Hermonthis, bibliography of 1082 See also Bakha, Bouchis
- Baganda, kings of, have lion as totem 957
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- Bakchos  
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- Bakha, the bull of Hermonthis 953<sub>2</sub> See also Bacis, Bouchis
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- Baktriane, coins of 532 ff. 540 871 f.
- Balletys 612<sub>6</sub> 1194
- Balor 933<sub>2</sub>
- Barbara, St 472<sub>3</sub>
- Baros See Embaros
- Basile 66<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Basile or Basileia  
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Function: 'Queen' of Heaven, or of Underworld (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub>
- Basileia as Athanasia (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub> as Athena (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub> as Basile (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub> as bride of Pisthetairos 57 ff. as Hera Βασίλεια 61 as an imaginary goddess recalling the Basilissa and Hera 60<sub>5(12)</sub> as Kore (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub> as Meter (?) 67<sub>6</sub> as Orphic Dike (?) 950<sub>4</sub> as d. of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and st. of Rhea (Pandora), who brought up the Titans, was called Megale Meter, and became by her b. Hyperion the m. of Helios and Selene (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub> as personification of Royalty (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub> as d. of Zeus (?) 60<sub>5(12)</sub>
- Basques  
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- Bathykles 220 f.
- Baubo  
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- Beisan See Beth-Shan
- Bektashi order still worships Zeus on Mt Tomori near Berat 1170 f.
- Beliar 332<sub>2</sub>
- Bellerophon 413<sub>6</sub>
- Bellona  
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Epithet: Pulvinensis 1142  
Priest: cistophorus 1142
- Belos  
Genealogy: f. of Danaos 368  
Function: sky-god 369<sub>1</sub>
- Beltis (?) 1159
- Benacus, Lake, floating island in 1014 f.
- Bendis  
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Identified with Artemis 189<sub>1</sub> 233<sub>1</sub>
- Benedict, St 338<sub>1</sub>
- Beni Hasan, mimetic dances from tomb at 993
- Bes  
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Types: female 847<sub>1</sub> full-face 847<sub>1</sub> musician 1001 pygmy with wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue 847<sub>1</sub>  
Compared with Gorgon 847<sub>1</sub>
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- Borysthenes 655<sub>6</sub> (?)
- Borysthenis 135 140
- Bosporos  
Cults: Twelve Gods 147 f. Zeus Οδρεός 142 ff.  
— 'Praying Boy' on shore of 149 ff.
- Bosporos Kimmerios 155 gold eicalas from 253<sub>6</sub>



## Bostra

- Cults:* Zeus Ἀμμων 912<sub>4</sub> Zeus Ἐπι-  
κάριος 912  
— carved lintel of temple near 909  
coins of 908 912<sub>4</sub>

## Boubastis

- Identified with Artemis* 984

## Boubrostis

- Cult:* Smyrna 1156

## Bouchis 1082 See Bacis, Bakha

## Boupalos 969

## Bouphonia 570 576 ff. 873

## Boura 21 f. 1118

## Bourina 363 f.

Bousiris, king of Egypt, sacrifices strangers to Zeus 653<sub>0</sub>Boutas 176<sub>0</sub>

## Boutes 589

## Boutes, ancestor of Eteoboutadai

- Cult:* Erechtheion 758

- Priest:* ἱερεὺς 213<sub>3</sub>

## Boutike Limne, floating island in 983

## Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi) in Egypt

- Cult:* Leto 983

## Bouto, the goddess (earlier Udó)

- Identified with Leto* 984

## Boutypoi, family of clan Kerykes 585 589 597 603

Bouzygai 608 ff. furnish priest of Zeus *Téleios*, priest of Zeus ἐν Παλλαδίᾳ, and priestess of Athena (ἐν Παλλαδίᾳ?) 609 keep sacred oxen at Eleusis 610

## Bouzyges, eponym of Bouzygai 608 first to plough with yoke of oxen 606 f. identified with Epimenides 610 plough of 606

Boxing Day 530<sub>0</sub>

## Brachmanes 107

Branchos 474<sub>0</sub>

## Briareos 120

Briareus 3<sub>0</sub>

## Bricia 1117

## Brimo

- Epithets:* πόρνια 300<sub>(11)</sub> 913<sub>4</sub> ῥήσιχθω 4<sub>0</sub>

Brimos 300<sub>(11)</sub> 301 913<sub>4</sub>

## Brisai

- Myth:* taught Aristaios 266

## Britomartis

- Cult:* Gaza 550

- Genealogy:* d. of Zeus by Hekate (?) 544<sub>4</sub>

- Etymology:* 550

- Associated with Marnas* 550

Brontes 60<sub>(10)</sub>Brontes 125<sub>3</sub>

## Brundisium

- Etymology:* 1115

## Buddha

- Myths:* birth from side of Máya 97<sub>(10)</sub>  
fight with Mara 1087

Buenos Aires 160<sub>2</sub>

## Bulgaria

- Cults:* three-headed rider-god with epithets Κέριος θεός and θεός

## Bulgaria (cont.)

- Παρθενοίος (or Πάρθεστρος) 1125  
Zeus Διόνυσος 1126

## Bulla Regia

- Cult:* Apollon 825<sub>3</sub>

- two statues of winged Minerva from 825<sub>5</sub>

## Byblos

- Cult:* Zeus Σωτήρ 1163

- excavation and restoration of temple at 1163

## Byzantion, bull-headed furnace at 1102 coins of 1120

Caelestis 1045<sub>5</sub>

## Calaminiae 988 f.

Caligula attempts to bring statue of Zeus *Olympios* to Rome 968 f. marries the Moon 1092 personates Helios 1092 personates Zeus 969<sub>1</sub>

## Campania

- Cults:* Iuno *Feronia* 1155 Jupiter *Anxurus* 1155

## Cancer 589 1146

Canicula 266<sub>3</sub>

## Capitoline triad (Jupiter flanked by Iuno and Minerva) 40 f. 904

## Capua

- Cult:* Iupiter *Olbius Sabaeus* 656<sub>2</sub>

- Arretine *skýphos* from 1003 coins of 408<sub>0</sub> *mundus* at 429, tomb-painting from 1000 f.

## Caracalla

- Personates Zeus* 37<sub>0</sub>

## Caradoc and the serpent 1124

Carchemish, Hittite god at 957<sub>0</sub>

## Carmel, Mt. as object of worship 1068

## Carnuntum

- Cults:* Manaphus 1163 Theandrius 1163

## Carthage

- Cult:* Hera 1045

- Rite:* sacrifice of children to Kronos by fire 611<sub>2</sub>

## Caucasus 236

## Celtiberians

- Cult:* Epona 1179

## Celts

- Cults:* Bousourigios 1140 Bussumarus

- (Bussumarius) 1140 Danu 367

- Epona 1179 Genius Cucullatus 1183

- Taranis (?) 1191

- Myth:* Tuatha Dé Danann 367

- traverse Europe in second millennium B.C. 367 enter Asia

- Minor in A. III B.C. 367

Cerastae 653<sub>0</sub>

## Ceres 1124 f.

## Ceres

- Rite:* sacrifice of a pregnant sow 23

- Myth:* consorts with Iupiter 452

- Attributes:* corn-wreath 1062<sub>3</sub> (11.) torch 1062<sub>2</sub> (11.)

- Type:* in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2</sub> (11.)

## Ceres (cont.)

*Identified with earth* 452

Cernunnos, rock-carving of, in Val Camonica 1147

Chaabou (?) 914<sub>1</sub>

Chaamou

*Cult:* Petra 914

*Genealogy:* m. of Dousares 914 f.

Chabakta, coins of 856<sub>0</sub>

Chaironeia

*Rite:* Βουλαὶν ἐξέλαστος 1031<sub>5</sub>

*Myth:* Kronos swallows stone 929

Chaldaean

*Cult:* fire 339<sub>2</sub> 340

*Myth:* outwitted by priest of Kanopos 339 f.

Chalke

*Cults:* Zeus and Hekate 544<sub>3</sub>

Chalkeia 211 f. 223

Chalkia ad Belum (?)

*Cult:* Helioseiros 1074

Chaos

*Etymology:* 1179

*Identified with Poros* 747<sub>1</sub>

— in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.

Charachmoba, coin of 908 f.

Charadros 361

Charis

*Cult:* Vari 261<sub>7</sub>

*Associated with Hephaistos* 958

Charites

*Genealogy:* daughters of Zeus 955

daughters of Zeus by Eurynome 744<sub>10</sub> cp. 1070

*Types:* joining hands for dance 1057

naked 1070 three small females on

hand of Apollon 1124

*In relation to Zeus* 1057

Charon

*Epithet:* Ἀχωνίδης (?) 927<sub>3</sub>

*Attribute:* hammer 927<sub>3</sub>

— conceived by Etruscans under Assyrian influence 1143 mallet or hammer of, produces chthonian thunder 1143 receives plate of pomegranates 815<sub>0</sub> recent bibliography of 1143

Cheiron

*Myth:* gives spear to Peleus 209<sub>2</sub>

Chembia

*Cult:* Apollon 983

Chemmis

*Cult:* Min 884<sub>0</sub>

Chersonesos in Crete, coins of 1092

Chersonesos Taurike, coins of 1146

Chersonesos Thraikike

*Cult:* Zeus Ὀπίος 1183

Cherubim 324<sub>1</sub>

Chios

*Cult:* Dionysos Ὠαδῖος 599<sub>12</sub>

— inscribed block of red trachyte from 1183

Chips 624<sub>0</sub>

Chloia 178<sub>0</sub> 179<sub>0</sub>

Choes 1103

## Christ

*Epithets:* ὁ κόποις ἡμῶν 552<sub>1</sub> Porus

Consilii Filius 747

*Functions:* judge 972 law-giver 972

teacher 972 timely storm of rain

326 532

*Types:* as infant borne by

St Christopher 1020 youthful and

beardless 970 ff. mature and bearded

970 ff. bronze group at Kaisareia

Paneas 971<sub>1</sub> divine ruler 972<sub>0</sub>

enthroned with globe as his footstool

948 seated on globe 948 974<sub>0</sub>

shepherd-judge 972<sub>0</sub> threatening

storm-god 973 in the likeness of

Zeus 970 973 1196 influenced by

pre-existing pagan types (the child

Zeus or Dionysos? the Pheidias

Zeus?) 972 f. possibly influenced by

other pagan types (Asklepios,

Orpheus, Sarapis, etc.) 972<sub>2</sub> 972<sub>3</sub>

973<sub>0</sub>

*Compared with Zeus Astérios* 954

— painted in the guise of Zeus 970

perhaps alludes to the Eleusinian

mysteries 307<sub>0</sub>

Christina, St 1013

Christmas 915<sub>2</sub>

Christodoulos, St 986

Christopher, St

*Type:* bearing infant Christ 1020

Chrysaor, twin-b. of Pegasus

*Genealogy:* f. of Geryones 1070

*Type:* in the pediment from Corfu

844<sub>10</sub> 845<sub>0</sub>

Chrysippos 726 1027<sub>5</sub>

Chytroi, the festival 604<sub>2</sub>

Cicero comments on Pheidias' statue of

Zeus at Olympia 960 f.

Circassians (Adighe)

*Cult:* Schiblé 1114

— treat as sacrosanct tree or man

struck by lightning 1114

Çiva

*Attribute:* trident 1156

— traced back to c. 3000 B.C. 1156

Claudia Quinta tows ship up the Tiber

895 f.

Clauium, tomb of Porsenna at 956<sub>1</sub>

Commodus

*Personates* Hercules 1100 Iupiter 1100

Zeus 37<sub>0</sub> Ziu 1100

Constantine, St 1166

Constantinople, church of St Sophia at

906 f. conflagrations at 970<sub>1</sub> House

of Lausus at 969 f. throne in the

Magnaura at 957<sub>0</sub>

Consualia 437

Consus 10<sub>1</sub>

Corfu, archaic pediment from 844<sub>10</sub> 845<sub>0</sub>

Corinth

*Cults:* Athena Ἐλευστis 1092 Zeus

Ὀυβριος 526

*Myth:* men sprung from mushrooms 478

— coins of 1136



Cornutus 727

Corona 483 f.

Corycian Cave

*Cult*: Zeus 651<sub>g</sub>

Crete

*Cults*: Athena 126<sub>4</sub> (?) Diktyнна 189<sub>1</sub>

Hellotis 1092 snake-goddess 189

Zeus 'Idaios 953 Zeus Σκόλιος 413<sub>g</sub>Zeus Σκόλιος 413<sub>g</sub>*Rites*: communion of worshippersdevouring sacred flesh 606 *iepēs**γῆρας* 1032 1092*Myths*: Aix, d. of Helios, hidden by

Ge in a cave, where—tended by

Amaltheia—she nurtures infant

Zeus with her milk 839<sub>g</sub> 840<sub>g</sub> bull1032<sub>4</sub> golden hound 1110 Iasion and

Demeter 75 ff. infancy of Zeus 953

Zeus nursed by Meteres 225<sub>1</sub>*In relation to* Philistines 551<sub>g</sub>

—special virtues ascribed to

foreigners from 592 tomb of Zeus in

1070 1173 tubular stands from

195<sub>g</sub> ff.

Cuccagna 504 f.

Cuclū 1075

Cyāma and Qabala, the hell-hounds of

Yama 410<sub>g</sub> ff.

Cynics 595

Cyprian, initiations of 775 1046

Da, an ancient name of the earth-mother

9<sub>g</sub>

Daānāu See Danauna

'Dagon'

*Cult*: Arados 126<sub>4</sub>

Dagon, that is Siton, s. of Ouranos by

Ge 857

Daidalos

*Attributes*: adze 1111 double axe 1111

saw 1111 square 1111

*Compared with* Ikaros and Talos 1111

Daimon Milichios

*Cult*: Lebadeia 1187*Attribute*: snake 1187*Identified with* Agathos Daimon (?)

1187

Daitroi, family of clan Kerykes 585 597

603

Daktyloi

*Cults*: Mt Ide in Crete 1033<sub>1</sub> Mt Ide inPhrygia 1033<sub>1</sub>*Function*: servants of mountain-

mother 922

*Etymology*: 99<sub>g</sub> (?)*Type*: three small male figures

wreathed with flowers 1033

Daldis, coin of 899<sub>5</sub>(5)

Damateres

*Cult*: Rhodes 1124 f.*Rite*: sacrifice of pregnant sheep 1124Damia 612<sub>g</sub>

Damigeron 920 f.

Dannameneus 922

Damophon 567<sub>g</sub> 712 968 1108

Dan

*Cult*: Boiotia 736<sub>3</sub>Dan, the Hebrew tribe 354<sub>4</sub>

Danaai 361 See also Danaides

Danaë

*Myths*: founds Ardea 365 is imprisoned

by Akrisios in bronze chamber 364

is visited by Zeus as a fall of golden

rain 455 ff. 518 is sent adrift in a

chest with Perseus by Akrisios 455

is drawn ashore on Seriphos by

Diktys s. of Peristhenes 455

*Genealogy*: d. of Akrisios 364 d. of

Akrisios by Eurydike d. of Lake-

daimon 455 m. of Perseus by Zeus

455

*Types*: Nikias of Athens 460 462 on

coin 471 on gems 469 ff. recumbent

undraped 467 f. seated on couch 456

458 460 463 standing behind or in

chest 458<sub>1</sub> 458<sub>2</sub> standing half-draped

465 f. Titian 466 f. Van Dyck 467

*Compared with* St Barbara 472<sub>3</sub>St Irene 472<sub>3</sub> the Virgin 467<sub>g</sub>*In relation to* Danaai, Danaides 476

—as described by Simonides of Keos

471 f. as pendant to Antiope 469 as

pendant to Leda 465 flanked by

Antiope and Leda 467

Danaides 354 ff.

*Myths*: escape from Egypt 355 touch

at Rhodes 355 make Argos well-

watered 361 f. slay Aigyptiadae 356

bury heads of Aigyptiadae at Lerna

356 369 carry water to holed pithos

in world below 369 f. 1193 f.

*Genealogy*: descended, through

Epaphos, from Zeus 142

*Type*: emptying *hydriai* into pithos

425

*Compared with* priests of Akanthos in

Egypt 339 354 users of libation-

funnels at Ras Shamra 1193

*In relation to* Danaë 476 Orpheus 425<sub>g</sub>

Danaoi

*Etymology*: 362 366*Identified with* Danauna 354 360 362*In relation to* Danaioi 364 f.—*thōlos*-tombs of 362 (?)

Danaos

*Myths*: Egypt 355 Rhodes 355 Argos

355 f. makes Argos well-watered

361 f.

*Genealogy*: s. of Belos 355 368 twin-b.

of Aigyptos 355 f. of fifty Danaides

354 f.

Danapris 366

Danastris 366

Danauna attack Rameses iii soon after

1200 B.C. 354 settle in Egypt 368

identified with Danaoi 354 360 362

Dānavās 362<sub>3</sub>Dānu 362<sub>3</sub>

Danu 367

Danube See Danuvius

Danuvius

*Epithet*: νεφελοφόρος 368<sub>2</sub>

*Etymology*: 366

Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

*Festival*: Olympia 1191

Daphnephoria 880

Dardanos

*Identified with Polyarches* 77<sub>4</sub>

Das, an ancient name of the sky-father 9<sub>0</sub>

Daunioi

*Etymology*: 364 f. 366

*In relation to Danaoi* 364 f.

— bury Aetolian envoys alive 365  
tholos-tombs of 365 (7)

Daunios 364<sub>2</sub>

Daunus 364 f.

Daximos 1189

Daxos 1189

Deioneus 72

Deiphnophoria 241<sub>0</sub> 246<sub>0</sub>

Delos

*Cults*: Anoubis 154 f. Aphrodite

Oὐρανία 152<sub>4</sub> 153 f. Apollon 119

984 f. 1135 Astarte Παλαιστίνη

152<sub>4</sub> 153 f. Harpokrates 154 f. Isis

154 f. Iupiter *Segundanus* (Zeus

Οὐρανός) 155 Kabeiroi 1172 Sarapis

154 f. Tritopator Περραιβῶν Αλ-

γιδίων 116 f. Zeus Οὐρανός 152 f.

Zeus Ἰφιστοί 1162

*Festivals*: Euergesia 593<sub>2</sub> Pataikeia

593<sub>2</sub> Philetairiea 593<sub>2</sub> Sopatreia

593<sub>2</sub>

*Rites*: γέρανος-dance 1087 Labyrinth-

dance 1087 διαμαστιγώσις (?) 1087

εὐσεβῶν βασιμὸς 593<sub>2</sub>

*Myths*: birth of Apollon 984 f. birth of

Artemis 985 Hyperochē and

Laodike 1172 Opis and Arge 1172

*Etymology*: 985 (?)

— altar of horns at 1087 1172 as a

floating island 984 f. called Asteria

984 f. Egyptian sanctuary in 154 f.

formerly sacred to Poseidon and

Doris 985 marble group of

Aphrodite and Pan from 1020 votive

ladder entwined with snakes from

1119 winged Nike from 843<sub>0</sub>

Delphinia 603<sub>12</sub>

Delphoi

*Cults*: Apollon 1135 Ge 1121 Themis

1121

*Rite*: βόιν τοῦ Ἡρώου 604<sub>2</sub>

*Myth*: Zeus sets up stone vomited by

Kronos 929 937

— acanthus-column at 1009 f. Cni-

dian Lesche at 398 distyle bases at

1131 E at 1121 group of Ge and

Themis from 1121 Mycenaean finds

at 937<sub>2</sub> omphalos at 1120 f. plane-

tree of Agamemnon at 1122 west

frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 807

Demeter

*Cults*: Agra 722 Alexandria 990 ff.

Demeter (cont.)

Argos 417<sub>0</sub> Athens 177 990 f. Eleusis

967<sub>1</sub> 990 Kolonos 179<sub>0</sub> Lykosoura

712 Megalopolis 66<sub>2</sub> Megara 569<sub>2</sub>

1136 Melite, the Attic deme 202<sub>0</sub> (?)

Mytilene 167 Pelasgians 191<sub>0</sub> (?)

Phlyeis 202<sub>0</sub> Selinous 1136 1188

Theira 992

*Epithets*: ἀγλαόδαρος 596<sub>2</sub> Ἀρησιδώρα

202<sub>0</sub> Δεκάμαχος 916<sub>2</sub> Ἐλευσινίη 596<sub>2</sub>

ἐν Ἑλῇ 66<sub>2</sub> Ἐρινύς 1182 ἐνπλόκαμοι

77<sub>1</sub> Εὐχλοῦς 178<sub>0</sub> 179<sub>0</sub> Θεσμιοφόρος

168 244<sub>2</sub> Ἰουλιώ 178<sub>0</sub> Κουροτρόφος

242 Μαλοφόρος 1136 1188 μεγάλη

θεὸς ἐθνήτασσα 991 Μεγαλόμαχος

916<sub>2</sub> Πελασγίς 417<sub>0</sub> πολυτρόφη 990

πυλόμεδων 990 Προφροσία 527 562

Χλόη 177 χλοόκαρπος 179<sub>0</sub>

*Rites*: basket 104 990 ff. sacrifice of

ram 178<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of pregnant sow

179<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: Φαιδωνή 967<sub>1</sub>

*Priestesses*: θεοδόχοι 724<sub>0</sub> κερμοφόροι

724<sub>0</sub> μέλισσαι 1083

*Personated by priestess* 301<sub>0(2)</sub>

*Myths*: consorts with Zeus 301<sub>0(2)</sub>

615<sub>2</sub> 744<sub>1(4)</sub> Demophon 609 611<sub>2</sub>

Iasion 75 ff.

*Genealogy*: m. of Kore 562<sub>2</sub> m. of

Persephone by Zeus 744<sub>1(4)</sub>

*Functions*: earth 726<sub>2</sub> agriculture 527

provides food for man and beast

453 birth-goddess 673 ff.

*Etymology*: 1127

*Attributes*: corn-ears 1060 poppies 1060

sceptre 1060 torch 712

*Types*: Demophon 712 helping Zeus

in labour 673 ff. in archaic reliefs

of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. seated

with corn-ears and sceptre 12<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with* Aglauros 242 Despoina

712 Dionysos 302<sub>0(2)</sub> Kore 178<sub>0</sub>

Kore and Zeus Βουλεύς or Εὐβουλεύς

1124 Persephone 712 Zeus Βουλεύς

1124

*Supernatural by Athena* 607 f.

—table of 177<sub>1</sub>

Demetra, St 598<sub>2</sub>

Demetreioi 302<sub>0(2)</sub>

Demetrios of Phaleron, sumptuary law

passed by 380

Demetrios Poliorketes

*Personates* Zeus Kataibates 1115

Demokratia 1186

Demon 121

Demophon

*Festival*: Balletys 612<sub>0</sub>

*Myths*: Eleusis 609 611<sub>2</sub> Palladion 609

Demos 1186

Dendra, tholos-tomb at 623<sub>1</sub>

Deo

*Epithet*: Βαρυώ 301<sub>0(2)</sub>

*Myth*: consorts with Zeus 301<sub>0(2)</sub> 615<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Pherephatta or Kore

301<sub>0(2)</sub>



- Derwentwater, floating island in 1015  
 Derzelas  
*Cult:* Thrace 1129  
 Despoins  
*Cult:* Lykosoura 712  
*Rite:* pomegranates taboo in her temple 815<sub>0</sub>  
*Type:* Damophon 712 f.  
*Associated with Demeter* 712  
 — marriage with 396  
 Deukalion  
*Myth:* Lykoreis 526, 966  
 — flood of, drained off by cleft at Athens 169<sub>0</sub> grave of 604<sub>2</sub>  
 Deus 320 671<sub>2</sub> 672<sub>0</sub> 1130 See also Zeus  
 Devil  
*Type:* serpent 767<sub>2</sub>  
 — phallia of 1078  
 Dia See Hebe  
 Dia, the festival 320<sub>1</sub>  
 Diana  
*Epithet:* Laodicia (?) a blundered allusion to the cult at Aricia (*supra* i. 282<sub>1</sub>, 282<sub>0</sub>, ii. 147, 420<sub>1</sub>) 903<sub>2</sub>  
*Function:* *daemonium meridianum* 1130  
*Attributes:* bow and arrows 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 t.) crown 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 t.) fawn 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 t.) sceptre 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 t.) spear 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 t.)  
*Types:* pillar with crown-shaped top 1119 f. in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 t.)  
*Superseded by St Christina* (?) 1013  
 — couch of 1044 name of, still survives as *Jana*, *Janara*, *Janassana*, etc. with a male counterpart *Diano*, *Dianu*, or the like 1130  
 Diasia 320<sub>1</sub> 1194  
 Diaskourai or Dias Kourai 664<sub>0</sub> (?)  
 Didyma near Miletos  
*Cult:* Zeus Σωτήρ 563 Zeus Τέτιος 563  
*Rite:* *sonylia* 563  
 Diipoleia 575<sub>1</sub> 596 See Dipolieia  
 Diipolia 320<sub>1</sub> 575<sub>0</sub> 593 See Dipolieia  
 Diipolieia 179 575<sub>2</sub> See Dipolieia  
 Diisoteria 575<sub>0</sub>  
 Dike  
*Epithets:* ἀγλαόμορφος 950<sub>1</sub> πανδερκής 950<sub>4</sub>  
*Genealogy:* d. of Zeus by Themis 823  
*Function:* *paredros* of Zeus 949 f.  
*Type:* guarding Peirithoos 402  
*Identified with Basileia* 950<sub>1</sub> (?) *Parthenos* 823 Zeus 951  
*In relation to Zeus* 949 f.  
 Diktynna  
*Cult:* Crete 189<sub>1</sub>  
*Identified with Artemis* 189<sub>1</sub>  
 Diktys, s. of Peristhenes 455  
 Dinos 163  
 Diodoros, sources of, for things Cretan 1032<sub>2</sub>  
 Diogenes of Apollonia 276<sub>2</sub>  
 Diogenes the Babylonian 726 f.  
 Diokaisareia in Kilikia See Olba  
 Diomedes  
*Rite:* human sacrifice at Salamis in Kypros 653<sub>0</sub>  
 — shield of 224<sub>2</sub>  
 Diomeia, Attic deme  
*Cult:* Herakles 594 724  
*Festival:* Diomeia 594  
*Myth:* Diomos 594  
 Diomeia, the festival 594  
 Diomos 593 f.  
*Myths:* first to kill ox 589 593 661<sub>2</sub> 1194 founds Kynosarges 594  
*Etymology:* 594<sub>0</sub> 595<sub>0</sub>  
 Dion Chrysostomos, describes Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 961 f.  
 974 enters a plea for idolatry 963<sub>1</sub>  
 Dion in Makedonia  
*Cult:* Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 1068  
 Dione in repose identified with Mt Emertsa 1173  
 Dionysios, St 294  
 Dionysos  
*Cults:* Athens 574 Chios 599 (1 t.) Ephesos 422<sub>0</sub> Kos 413<sub>0</sub> Krastonia 1118 Lakonike 91 Samos 1030<sub>2</sub> Tenedos 599 (1 t.) Thebes in Boiotia 1103 Thraco-Phrygians 874  
*Epithets:* 'Ανθρωπορραϊστής 599 (1 t.) Βακχίωτης 94<sub>2</sub> Βασταρείς 94<sub>2</sub> Βρόμιος 1161 Δανδρίτης 753<sub>2</sub> Δημοστέλης 212<sub>2</sub> Δίγονος 1105 Διδυραμβογονής 1105 Διογενής 1105 Διός φως 80<sub>2</sub> (1 t.) 685<sub>2</sub> Εἰραφίωτης 83<sub>4</sub> (1 t.) 94<sub>2</sub> Ελευθερείς 574 'Ελγυός 1030<sub>2</sub> 'Εράφιος 99<sub>0</sub> 'Ερῖφος 94<sub>2</sub> Εἰός 1103 'Ηρικεπαῖος 515<sub>0</sub> (cp. 64<sub>0</sub> 1179) 'Ηρωί (?) 1160 Μελάναιγος 837 1105 Πατοκράτωρ 422<sub>0</sub> Περικλῆσιος 351<sub>1</sub> πολυγυθής 1103 πυριγενής 1118 ρηξίχθων 4<sub>0</sub> Σεμελεύς 1105 Σεμεληγενής 1105 Σουλῆρας 413<sub>0</sub> 414<sub>0</sub> 416<sub>0</sub> Thyoneus 1047 (1 t.) 'Υγι 500 874 'Ομάδιος 599 (1 t.)  
*Rites:* at Chytroi 604<sub>2</sub> διδύραμβος 1104 f. marriage with Βασίλισσα 61<sub>0</sub> 1105  
*Worshippers:* human ἑρῖφος 1104  
*Myths:* simulated birth from Zeus 89<sub>1</sub> 737 Zeus rains ambrosia at his birth 477 500 gives Bakchos or Iakchos to Athena as nurse 225<sub>1</sub> brings Hephaistos to Olympos 1106 attacked by Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228<sub>2</sub> beats Pallene in wrestling-match 522<sub>2</sub> Tyrrhenian pirates 1031<sub>1</sub> pomegranates spring from his blood 815<sub>0</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into kid* 1104  
*Genealogy:* s. of Ammon by Amaltheia 126<sub>1</sub> (?) υἱὸς Στραβίου 1114 f. by Isis of Apollon and Artemis 984  
*Functions:* earthquake 4<sub>0</sub> life-giver 515<sub>0</sub> life-god of Thracians 953<sub>1</sub> rain 874  
*Etymology:* 83<sub>4</sub> (1 t.)  
*Attributes:* bullae 88<sub>0</sub> ivy-wreath 675 685<sub>2</sub> kántharos 675 685<sub>2</sub> 996 1053<sub>1</sub> (1 t.) 1109 nárthex 88<sub>0</sub> 996 nēris 1060

## Dionysos (cont.)

panther 757<sub>0</sub> panther-skin 713 721  
 pedum 88<sub>0</sub> (?) torches 685<sub>2</sub> vine-staff  
 1053<sub>111</sub> vine-stem 685<sub>2</sub> vine-wreath  
 681

*Types:* pillar 1103 pillar with mask or  
 masks 1103 herm on Ionic column  
 1006 double bust 1132 emerging  
 from thigh of Zeus 80<sub>2</sub>(38) 686<sub>0</sub>  
 standing on knees of Zeus 685<sub>2</sub>  
 infant 88<sub>0</sub> 685<sub>2</sub> infant riding on  
 goat 1109 riding on bull 831 in  
 chariot drawn by two griffins 842<sub>2</sub>  
 recumbent 713 f. 721

*Identified with Baki(s)* 1082 cut corn  
 302<sub>0</sub>(40) (?) Dousares 911 f. Zeus 1126  
*Associated with Demeter* 302<sub>0</sub>(40) Helene  
 1083 (?)

*In relation to bull* 94<sub>2</sub> fox 94<sub>2</sub> goat 94<sub>2</sub>  
 Helios 718,

*Superseded by Apollon* 1125  
 — points of contact between Diony-  
 siac and Christian practice 953

Diopan 620<sub>0</sub> (?)

Diorea 110

Dios, the Thracian Zeus

*Cult:* Thracio-Phrygians 952

*Epithet:* Νύκτ 952

Dios Choron

*Cult:* Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 22

Dios Hieron in Lydia, coin of 1117

Dioskourides, the gem-engraver 641<sub>0</sub>

Dioskouroi

*Attributes:* caps with stars 542

Dios Phos 80<sub>2</sub>(40) 685<sub>2</sub>

Diospolia 575<sub>7</sub> See Dipolieia

Diospolis 515<sub>5</sub> See Laodikeia on the Lykos

Diotima 315<sub>1</sub> 746 1189

Diounsis 1125 f.

Dipoleia 575<sub>2</sub> See Dipolieia

Dipolia 575<sub>5</sub> See Dipolieia

Dipolieia

317 574 ff. myths of the (Diomos)

593 ff. myths of the (Sopatros)

590 ff. myths of the (Thaulon) 596 ff.

purpose of the 598 ff. 719 ritual of

the 577 ff. 656 f. 662 669 f. 719 733

737 873 1194

Dis

*Cult:* Rome 904<sub>2</sub> 1115

*Epithet:* Pater 432<sub>1</sub> 904<sub>2</sub>

*Rite:* human sacrifice commuted 433<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with Proserpina* 432<sub>1</sub>

Di-Sandas (?) 1097

Dithyrambos

*Etymology:* 1104 f.

Dius

*Epithet:* Fidius 946

*Functions:* lightning 946 protector of  
 pledges 946

Diuturna 1112 f. See Iuturna

Dodo 289<sub>2</sub>

Dodola, in the rain-magic of the Balkans

288 f. variations of her name 288

*Etymology* of her name 289<sub>2</sub>

## Dodona

*Rites.* priests go with unwashed feet

1168 priests sleep on ground 1034<sub>1</sub>

1168 ep. 1174

*Priests:* Ἐλλοί 1092 Σελλοί 1034<sub>1</sub>

τομοίροι (τόμοιροι) 1168

*Etymology:* 289<sub>2</sub>

— bronze statuettes of Zeus (?) from

1078 1192 recent excavations at

1131

Doias 1196

Doidalses 471

Dois, clipped form of Domater 289<sub>2</sub>

Domater, Aeolic name for Demeter 289<sub>2</sub>

Domitian

*Personates* Zeus 37<sub>2</sub>

— a devotee of Minerva 872 claims

to be s. of Athena 872<sub>2</sub>

Domouzi (later Tamouz) 1125

Donar

*Identified with Volcanus* (?) 210

— birch-broom a symbol of 1072

cuckoo an animal form of (?) 65<sub>0</sub>

Donatus as author of the scholia P. Danielis

on the commentaries of Servius 1181

Dorians

*Festival:* Thaulia 282<sub>7</sub>

Doros 109<sub>7</sub>

Dorylaeion

*Cult:* Zeus Παρφόρος (= Augustus) 1191

— monuments of 1160

Doto 129

Dousares

*Cults:* Elousa 915 Nabatai 907 ff.

Petra 914 ff.

*Epithet:* Ἀνικητός 911<sub>2</sub> 912

*Rite:* libation of victims' blood 907

*Priest:* ἱερεὺς 911<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy:* s. of Chaamōn 914 f.

*Functions:* solar (?) 912 viticulture (?)

911 f.

*Etymology:* 911 915<sub>1</sub>

*Types:* black stone, square and un-

shapen, set on base of wrought

gold 907 hemispherical stone on

cubical base 907 meteorite (?) 917

triad of stones surmounted by flat

disks (? shew-bread) and set on plinth

908

*Identified with Dionysos* 911 f. Zeus

Ammon (?) 912<sub>4</sub> Zeus Epikarpios (?)

912

— misspelt θεὸς Ἀππ and mis-

interpreted θεὸς Ἀππ 907 911

Drac, water-spirit of Languedoc 446<sub>4</sub>

Draco 489

Drakanon

*Myth:* birth of Dionysos 83<sub>4</sub>(1)

Drekanon 83<sub>4</sub>(1)

Drepanon 83<sub>4</sub>(1)

Dreos

*Cult:* Apollon Δελφίνιος 1087

— altar of horns at 1087 bronze

Gorgoneion from 848<sub>2</sub> inscribed

tapering stone from 1183 f.



## Druses

Rite: cakes etc. passed through wooden calf 1092

Dryas, s. of Lykourgos king of Edonoi 426<sub>4</sub>

Dryas, suitor for hand of Pallene

Myth: 522 f.

Compared with Idas 1072

Dryoussa, name of Samos 1027<sub>1</sub>

## Dura-Europos

Cults: Hestia (?) 1163 Zeus Βέρυλος 890 f. Zeus Θεός 1095 Zeus Κόριος 1095 Zeus Μέγιστος 1163

Dvita 545 cp. 546<sub>1</sub>

Dyaus 531 1134

## Easter Island

Rite: Tangata-Manu ('Man-Bird') 1137

Ebora Cerialis, coins of 1074

Echidna 410<sub>0</sub>

Edonoi 426<sub>4</sub>

Estion 77<sub>4</sub>

Egeria 433<sub>0</sub>

## Egypt

Cults: Anubis 48<sub>0</sub> H<sub>4</sub> of the Double Axe 351 Heh 914<sub>0</sub> Isis 302<sub>0</sub> (a) Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 1130

Festival: Neiloia 344<sub>1</sub>

Rite: sacrifice of strangers to Zeus 653<sub>0</sub>

Myths: Bousiris 653<sub>0</sub> Kanobos (Kanopos) 339 f.

— floating islands in marshes of 967 invaded by Mediterranean peoples 1077 f. (bibliography) regulations for the guild of Zeus Ἱερίστας in 1163 f. supposed influence of, on Eleusinian mysteries 302<sub>0</sub> (st.)

Eileithia 679<sub>0</sub> See Eileithia

## Eileithia

Cults: Agra 724 Agrai 168 Aigion 663<sub>2</sub> Athens 588<sub>1</sub> Pelasgians 679<sub>0</sub> Pyrgoi 679<sub>0</sub>

Epithet: Εὐκλήνη 724<sub>1</sub> (?)

Priestesses: Ἐρηφόροι 168

Genealogy: d. of Hera 711 725 1032<sub>2</sub> d. of Zeus by Hera, and st. of Hebe and Ares 744<sub>1</sub> (?)

Function: birth-goddess 673 ff.

Etymology: 664<sub>1</sub> 665<sub>0</sub>

Types: acrolithic x<sub>0</sub>anon at Aigion 663<sub>2</sub> helping Zeus in labour 82<sub>0</sub> (a) 667<sub>1</sub> 667<sub>2</sub> 671<sub>0</sub> 673 676 (st.) flying from scene of Athena's birth 711 youthful 711

In relation to Hebe 711

Superseded by St Eleutherios 588<sub>1</sub> Hera 685<sub>2</sub>

## Eileithiai

Cults: Kalchedon 667 f. Megara 668

Types: helping woman in labour 80<sub>2</sub> (p) helping Zeus in labour 662 ff. Etruscan 665<sub>0</sub> winged 86<sub>0</sub> 88<sub>0</sub> 664 cp. 85<sub>0</sub> (z)

Ekaia 545 cp. 546<sub>1</sub>

## Elagabalos

Cults: Emesa 900 ff. 905 f. Rome 902 ff.

Mt Tauros 902

Epithet: invictus Sol Elagabalus 901<sub>1</sub>

Priest: Elagabalus 902 ff.

Etymology: 900<sub>4</sub>

Identified with Helios 901<sub>1</sub> Jupiter 902

904 Sol 901<sub>1</sub> 902<sub>2</sub>

— altar of 902<sub>0</sub> stone of 900 ff.

Elagabalus brings black stone of Emesa to Rome 902 ff. builds temples for black stone at Rome 903 f. collects other holy stones at Rome 903 offers human sacrifices 526<sub>2</sub>

## Elaioussa Sebaste

Cult: Zeus Ὀλβιος 643<sub>0</sub> 645<sub>0</sub>

Elche, Lady of 1073

Elektra, d. of Atlas

Genealogy: m. of Dardanos by Zeus 77<sub>4</sub> m. of Iasion by Zeus 77<sub>4</sub>

Elektryone 77<sub>4</sub>

Eleusinia 297

## Eleusis

Cults: Demeter 967<sub>1</sub> 990 Persephone 967<sub>1</sub> Thea 302<sub>0</sub> (a) 309 Theos 302<sub>0</sub> (a) 309 Zeus Ἠελιεύς (?) 598 605<sub>0</sub>

Festivals: Chloia 178<sub>0</sub> 179<sub>0</sub> Eleusinia 297 Haloia 178<sub>0</sub> Kalamaia 179<sub>0</sub>

Rites: ἀλαθε, μύσται 297 ἀπαρχαί 301<sub>0</sub> (a) bull-carrying 1091 exhibition of corn-ear reaped in silence 299 ἱεροφάντης... ἐκνουχισμένοι... διὰ κω-velon... ἐκκραγε λέγων· 'ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βρωῖο Βρωῖος' 300<sub>0</sub> (p) 301 913<sub>4</sub> κόγξ, δμπαξ 298 ὁ (ῆ) ἀφ' ἑσρίας 611<sub>2</sub> πλημοχθεῖ 298 pomegranates taboo 815<sub>0</sub> τῷ καλᾷθω κατίστος 990 δε, κέε 299 307 454

Priest: ἱεροφάντης 300<sub>0</sub> (p)

Priestess: Ἀρηφόροι 167<sub>4</sub> 168

Myths: Demophon 609 611<sub>2</sub> Thaulon 597

— burials within 'Middle Helladic' houses at 1181 Dionysion at 297 Itonian Gate at 297 Kallichoron at 309<sub>4</sub> (p) (?) 'Ploutonion' at 309<sub>4</sub> (p f.) reliefs from 309<sub>4</sub> (p f.) Rheitoi at 297 small copies of figures from west pediment of Parthenon found at 698<sub>1</sub> supposed influence of Egypt on Eleusinian mysteries 302<sub>0</sub> (st.) tablet of Ninnion found at 722<sub>2</sub> Telesterion at 724<sub>0</sub> Triptolemos-relief from 202<sub>0</sub>

Eleutherios, St 588<sub>1</sub>

Eleuthernai, coins of 421<sub>0</sub> gold tablets from 420<sub>0</sub>

Elias, St

Cults: Mt Olympos in Makedonia 1167 Mt Ossa 1167

Eliogabalus 901<sub>1</sub> See Elagabalos, Elagabalus

## Elioun

Cult: Phoinike 762<sub>2</sub>

## Eliou (cont.)

*Epithet*: 'Τέμερος 762<sub>2</sub>

## Eliis

*Cults*: Athena Μήρηρ 224 f. 749 Sosipolis 239, Zeus 'Ουβριος 525 f.

*Myth*: Molpis 525 f.

— coins of 958 f.

Elishama s. of Gedaliah, seal of 1072

Elissa 646<sub>0</sub>

Elos, called Kronos, s. of Ouranos by Ge 887

## Elousa

*Cults*: Dousares 915 Lucifer 915<sub>2</sub>

Venus 915<sub>2</sub>

*Rite*: birth of Dousares 915

## Elymion (Elymnia)

*Myth*: union of Zeus with Hera 1041 f.

Elysian Way 1115

Elysium 1115

## Embaros

*Myth*: sacrifices she-goat dressed as his d. to Artemis Μορρυχία 233<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 233<sub>1</sub>

Emertsa, Mt. viewed as Dione in repose 1173

## Emesa

*Cults*: Athena 888 Elagabalos 900 ff. 905 f. Keraunos 888<sub>0</sub>

*Festivals*: Helia 901, Pythia 901<sub>1</sub>

— coins of 901 905 relief from 888<sub>0</sub> 1158

## Empedokles

*Epithets*: 'Αλεξανέμης 105<sub>1</sub> Κωλυσαρέμης 105<sub>2</sub>

— the personified elements of 736<sub>1</sub>

Enalos 133 135

Endoios 968

## Endymion

*Myths*: Hera 74 Zeus 74

*Genealogy*: f. of fifty daughters by Selene 357

Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483 ff.

*Identified with Atlas* 491 Herakles 489 ff. Ixion on his wheel 483 Keteus 484 Orpheus 488 Prometheus chained to the Kaukasos 483 Talas 484 491 Talos 491 Tantalos 491 Taos 491 Thamyris 488 'the fettered god' of the Babylonians 483 cp. 484; Theseus 484

## Enhodia

*Cults*: Larissa in Thessaly 279 Pherai 279 f.

*Rite*: sacrifice of bull with gilded horns 280

Enkelados 3<sub>0</sub> 55<sub>2</sub>

Enkidu 1106

Enkomi, Cypro-Mycenaean vase from 1150

Enoch 528

Enyo 608<sub>2</sub>

## Epaphos

*Myth*: 1082

*Genealogy*: ancestor of Danaides 142

Epeios 1137 1141 f.

## Ephesos

*Cults*: Apollon 1174 Artemis 896<sub>2</sub> 968

Attis 1174 Dionysos Παροικάρων

422<sub>0</sub> (Kybele) 'Οπεία 1174 Poseidon

599<sub>(2)</sub> Zeus Παρελλήνιος (? Hadrian)

422<sub>0</sub> Zeus Παρμας 1174

*Rites*: human ταύροι 599<sub>(2)</sub> ταυροκαθάρσις (?) 1091

— a hot-bed of magic 332<sub>2</sub> attached by cords to columns of Artemision 896<sub>2</sub> coins of 323 899<sub>2</sub> excavations on the Panaghir Dag at 1174 gold cicala from 253<sub>0</sub> neolithic pounder, faceted and inlaid with tin to serve as idol (?), from 898 ff.

Ephialtes 18<sub>0</sub>

Epicureans 369

Epidauria 167

Epidauros

*Cult*: Asklepios 1182

— bronzestatuettes by Hybristas from (?) 1150 f. metopes (?) from temple of Asklepios at 1182 relief of

Hephaistos and Athena from 205 ff.

Epidaurum or Epidauros in Dalmatia, St Hilarion burns snake at 1182

Epiktosis 1092

Epimenides and the Nemean lion 1085 controls wind 106 identified with

Bouzyges 610 invited to Athens

592<sub>2</sub> περί Μίρω και Παδαμύθιος

1103 (further bibliography) quoted by St Paul (?) 954

Epiphany, pagan parallels to Christian 913

Episkopos 593 f.

Epona

*Cults*: Celtiberians 1179 Celts 1179

Epopeus

*Personates Zeus* (?) 1112

Er, s. of Armenios 946

Erechtheion at Athens 213 574<sub>0</sub> 721 725

737 749 f. 758 f. 867

Erechtheis, the Attic tribe 759

Erechtheis, the 'sea' of Poseidon in the Erechtheion 750 758 758<sub>2</sub>

Erechtheus

*Myth*: war with Eumolpos 598

*Genealogy*: f. of Prokris 72

*Etymology*: 737 (cp. ii. 793) 867

*Type*: snake 773<sub>0</sub> (?)

*Identified with Poseidon* 12<sub>2</sub> 737 758 f.

*Associated with Poseidon* 758

*Confused with Erichthonios* 181, 773<sub>2</sub>

*In relation to Athena* 190 758

Erichthonios

*Myths*: birth from ground 220 in charge of Aglauros and Herse 248<sub>0</sub>

764 f. first sacrifices to Ge Κορυπόροφος 244

*Genealogy*: s. of Hephaistos by Athena 218 s. of Hephaistos by Atthis d. of

Kranaos 218

*Etymology*: 181, 220 245<sub>0</sub>



## Erichthonios (cont.)

- Types:* snake 218 753<sub>2</sub> (?) 771 773 half-snake 773 infant 218 771  
*Compared with* Tithonos 248  
*Confused with* Erechtheus 181, 773<sub>2</sub>  
 — birth of 181 ff.

## Eridanos

- Etymology:* 366  
*Identified with* Neilos 349

## Erikepaio

- Epithet:* [βασι]λεῦ or [Εόβου]λεῦ 1179  
*Function:* ζωοδοτῆρ 64<sub>9</sub> (cp. 515<sub>9</sub>)

## Erinyes

- Epithet:* αἰολόδαυροι 722<sub>3</sub>  
*Myth:* plant pomegranate on tomb of Eteokles and Polyneikes 815<sub>9</sub>  
*Genealogy:* daughters of Gaia 481  
*Function:* blight the land 426<sub>4</sub>  
 — as horses 1182 as hounds 413<sub>9</sub> of (Hera) 928<sub>5</sub> of Ouranos 928<sub>5</sub>

## Erinyes

- Epithet:* ἡεροφοῖτις 418<sub>9</sub>  
 — lashes Sisyphos 416

## Eros

- Cult:* Athens 170, 725 f.  
*Epithet:* πολυερπής 745<sub>4</sub> 745<sub>4</sub>  
*Myth:* springs from egg laid by Nyx 53  
*Genealogy:* s. of Poros by Penia 746  
*Attributes:* axe 1129 bulla 92<sub>9</sub> hoop and hoop-stick 638<sub>9</sub>  
*Types:* ἀποσκοπεύων 1019 as infant driving Polyphemos 1020 1023 at the shoulder of Aphrodite 1022 at the shoulder of lover 1022 bearing thunderbolt for Zeus 1023 flanking Aphrodite 1018 guiding bull for Europe 1023 handing Aphrodite ashore 1023 hovering 39 465 f. 1018 1023 1052<sub>9</sub> leading eagle to Ganymedes 1023 on ladder 1118 on shoulder of Herakles 1019 f. pouring golden rain on Danaë 1023 prompting 37<sub>5</sub> 1016 ff. receiving Aphrodite 957 f. removing Ares' helmet 1023 robbing Herakles of weapons 1019 spinning *tygns* 1023 standing on Aphrodite's arm 1018 stepping down from behind shoulder of Aphrodite 1018 touching breast of Aphrodite 1019 whipped 1179 whispering in Hebe's ear 1018 with crossed legs 1108 with thunderbolt and sceptre 1179  
*Associated with* Aphrodite 170, 704 746  
*In relation to* Zeus 1129

## Erotes

- Functions:* attendants on historical lovers 1025 attendants on mythological lovers 1023 ff.  
*Types:* hovering 1019 playing about Aphrodite 173<sub>9</sub> procession 170<sub>9</sub> two 1023 ff. three 1025 four 1025 six 1025 eight 1025 nine 1025 numerous in early Christian art 1025 1180

## Erotes (cont.)

- Superseded by* Renaissance putti and modern Cupids 1025

## Ersé See Herse

Ersephoria 166 265<sub>9</sub>

## Erysichthon 118

## Erythrai in Ionia, sale of priesthoods at 1187

## Eryx, eponym

- Genealogy:* s. of Aphrodite by Boutas or by Poseidon 176<sub>9</sub>

## Eryx, Mt

- Cult:* Aphrodite 'Ερυκίη 172 ff. Venus *Erycina* 175<sub>2</sub>

Priestesses: ιερόδουλοι 176<sub>9</sub>

## Essenes 1141

## Eteoboutadai 589 758

Eteokles 815<sub>9</sub>

## Etephilai

- Cult:* Mytilene 167

Etheusa 665<sub>9</sub> 678<sub>12</sub>

## Etruria

- Cult:* Munthuch 430<sub>9</sub> 439<sub>2</sub> Tina (Tinia) 259<sub>9</sub>

- Myths:* Evan 259<sub>9</sub> Heracle chooses between Menrfa and Turan 839 Memnon (Memnon) 259<sub>9</sub> Tages 203<sub>9</sub> Thesau 259<sub>9</sub> Tintun or Tintun 259<sub>9</sub>  
 — face-urns from 193<sub>9</sub>

Etrusci, lightning-lore of 156 lore of Tages and Begot (?) 434 mirrors of 86<sub>9</sub> (15) 89<sub>1</sub> 259 677<sub>9</sub> ff. 806 815<sub>9</sub> 839

## Euamerion

- Cult:* Titane 1183

## Eubolia

- Cult:* Zeus 'Ελίουπιος 1042 (?) Zeus 'Ελικόπιος 912<sub>2</sub>

## Euelpides 44 ff.

Euergesia 593<sub>2</sub>

## Eukleides of Athens 1107 f.

Eukoline 724<sub>1</sub> See EileithyiaEumelos of Corinth 628<sub>9</sub>

## Eumenides

- Cult:* Athens 189, Kyrene 1188

## Eumenouthis 349

Eumolpos, makes war on Erechtheus 242<sub>9</sub> 598 writes of Palamaon (?) 661<sub>4</sub> 661<sub>5</sub>Euphranor 20<sub>3</sub> 1186

## Euripides, on the nature of Zeus 950

## Europe

- Myth:* consorts with Zeus 469 615<sub>3</sub>  
*Genealogy:* d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 627<sub>1</sub> d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 628<sub>9</sub>  
*Functions:* earth-goddess 1092 tree-and-flower-goddess 617<sub>9</sub>  
*Etymology:* 1092  
*Attributes:* basket 619, golden basket 1092  
*Types:* beneath trees 622<sub>12</sub> borne off by Zeus as a bull 615 ff. draped

## Europe (cont.)

- 619 622<sub>2</sub> semi-draped 619 622<sub>4</sub> naked  
619 622<sub>2</sub> floating 618<sub>1</sub> recumbent 618<sub>1</sub>  
sitting 618<sub>1</sub> standing 618<sub>1</sub> standing  
to front with basket or vase 980  
stooping 618<sub>1</sub> in mosaics 626<sub>(2)</sub>  
627<sub>(2)</sub> in wall-paintings 624<sub>(1)</sub>  
— originally named Hellotis (?) 1092

Euros 180

Eurydike

*Myth*: Orpheus 99

Eurydike, d. of Lakedaimon

*Genealogy*: w. of Akrisios and m. of Danaë 455

Eurykomis 162

Eurynome

*Myths*: consorts with Zeus 744<sub>(1)</sub> hides Hephaistos in cave for nine years 228*Genealogy*: d. of Okeanos, and m. of Charites by Zeus 744<sub>(1)</sub> cp. 1070Eurystheus, takes refuge in *pitthos* 408<sub>0</sub>

Eustace, St 1102

Eutychia

*Epithet*: καλή 1073

Euyuk

*Cult*: Asis 1106 f.Evan 259<sub>0</sub>Evander 314 315<sub>0</sub>Ezekiel 832<sub>5</sub>

Falerii

*Cult*: Iuno 802<sub>5</sub>*Rite*: annual sacrifice of virgin to Iuno 802<sub>5</sub> (?)

Falerio, statue of Zeus from 535 537

Fates See Moirai

Faustina the younger

*Cult*: Mt Tauros 902Fides 71<sub>2</sub>

Fillin 1134

Finn mac Cumail 1174

Finns

*Myths*: Milky Way conceived as 'Great Oak' 1192 Terhetär 446<sub>4</sub>  
Udutar 446<sub>4</sub>

Florence

*Rite*: Scoppio del Carro 791<sub>5</sub>Fors 321<sub>0</sub>

Fortuna

*Etymology*: 321<sub>0</sub>Freya 65<sub>0</sub>Fro 65<sub>0</sub>

Frøyr 1134

Fufuns 88<sub>0</sub>

Fundanus, Lake, floating island(s) in 1012

Gabriel 917<sub>5</sub>

Gadeira

*Cult*: Herakles 983

— golden olive of Pygmalion at 983

Gaia

*Cult*: Mt Hymettos 526<sub>5</sub> (?)*Epithets*: μεγίστη 454<sub>1</sub> μήτηρ πάντων 454<sub>1</sub> πελώρη 928 1076

## Gaia (cont.)

*Myths*: receives infant Zeus from Rhea and rears him in Crete 928 transforms Ambrosia into vine 1112*Genealogy*: m. of Erinyes, Gigantes, Meliai 481*Type*: recumbent with hand uplifted 85<sub>(2)</sub> (?) 601<sub>2</sub>*Associated with Ouranos* 419<sub>3</sub> 420<sub>0</sub> 422<sub>0</sub> 477<sub>3</sub> 744 745 928

Galateia 1023

Galatia

*Cult*: Zeus Βοεσσουπλύτης 1140

Ganges

*Cult*: India 531

Ganymedes

*Myth*: Zeus 955, 981 f.*Types*: feeding eagle 981 f. standing at knee of seated Zeus 38 469 standing before seated Zeus 581<sub>0</sub> (?) 1050<sub>0</sub> 1051<sub>0</sub> standing behind seated Zeus 1039 (?) 1040

Gargaron, Mt

*Myths*: Zeus consorts with Hera 35

Zeus visited by Apollo and Iris 35

Gaza

*Cults*: Aphrodite 553 Apollo 553 Britomartis 550 Hekate 553 Helios 553 Kore 553 Marnas 549 ff. Tyche 553 Zeus 'Αλδήμιος or 'Αλδος 556*Epithet*: Μινώα 555*Rite*: ceremonial bathing on set day of spring 1193— coins of 550 558 642<sub>0</sub> 945 1072

Heroion at 553 Marneion at 552 ff.

St Porphyrios at 551 ff. Tycheion at 553

Ge

*Cults*: Amastris 1140 (?) Athens 168169<sub>0</sub> 177<sub>1</sub> 244 601<sub>2</sub> Delphoi 1121Phlyeis 202<sub>0</sub> Thermos in Aitolia1184 Vari 265<sub>0</sub>*Epithets*: 'Αρησιδώρα 202<sub>0</sub> Θέμις 168244<sub>2</sub> 949 Καρποφόρος 242 601<sub>2</sub>Κουρποφόρος 177<sub>1</sub> 244 Κυρία 1140 (?)Μεγάλη Θεός 202<sub>0</sub> 'Ολυμπία 169<sub>0</sub> 188236 265<sub>0</sub> Παρθώρα 202<sub>0</sub>*Rite*: sacrifice to any god preceded

by sacrifice to Ge Κουρποφόρος 244

*Priestesses*: 'Ερηφόροι 168*Myths*: brings bough of golden apples as wedding-gift to Hera 1064 con-

sorts with Zeus 949

*Genealogy*: m. by her b. Ouranos of

four ss.—Elos called Kronos,

Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and

Atlas 887

*Function*: earthquakes 22*Attribute*: omphalos 265<sub>0</sub>*Types*: emergent from ground 181 ff.187 203<sub>0</sub> 205<sub>0</sub> full-breasted 182praying Zeus to rain 526<sub>5</sub> 601*Identified with Themis* 1064*Associated with Themis* 1121 Zeus and

Helios 1184



## Ge (cont.)

*Differentiated into Demeter and Persephone* 312

*Superseded by Athena* 188

Geb 1027<sub>3</sub>

Gela, coins of 1122

Gelanor 355 362

Genesia 1105

Genetyllides

*Cult:* Cape Kolias 172

Genetyllis 172<sub>1</sub>

Genius Cocullatus

*Cult:* Celts 1183

*Assimilated to Kaberoi* 1183 Telesphoros 1183

*Survives as post-Roman dwarf, hobgoblin, etc.* 1183

Genius Iovis Dolicheni 1097

Genius Terrae Africae (?)

*Cult:* Ghardimaon 1095

Gennadios, St 970

Gennaioi

*Cult:* Heliopolis in Syria 888

*Types:* lion 888 lion's head 1095

— influences type of Hermes 1093

George, St

*Myths:* dragon-slayer 1114 attacks evil spirits with his double lance 1141 burnt in bronze bull 1102

*Supersedes Aphrodite* (?) 1112 Mithras (?) 1194

Geraistos 191<sub>0</sub>

Geran(e)ia, Mt 1165

Gerasa, excavations at 1197 head of third-century Zeus perhaps treated as fifth-century Christ at 1197

Germe, coins of 408<sub>0</sub>

Gertrude, St 65<sub>0</sub>

Geryones or Geryoneus

*Genealogy:* z. of Chrysaor 1070

— rock-cut throne of, at Temenothyrai 1070

Geta

*Personates:* Zeus 37<sub>0</sub>

Ghardimaon

*Cults:* Genius Terrae Africae (?) 1095

Saturnus 1095

Gideon 500<sub>1</sub>

Gigantes

*Myth:* Zeus 55<sub>0</sub> 56<sub>0</sub> 57<sub>0</sub> 306<sub>0</sub>(3) 534 792<sub>2</sub> 966

*Genealogy:* sons of Gaia 481

*Types:* wearing leopard-skin or lion-skin 57<sub>0</sub> wearing wolf-skin (?) 57<sub>0</sub> with human legs and snake legs on same vase 842<sub>2</sub> with snake legs 56<sub>0</sub> 57<sub>0</sub> 842<sub>2</sub>

Gilgamesh 1106

Gitladas 661<sub>7</sub>(?)

Glaukos

*Cult:* Karystos 126<sub>4</sub>(?) 127(?)

*Function:* sea-god 129 135

Glykon

*Cult:* Pautalia (?) 1182

*Types:* snake with human head 1182

## Glykon (cont.)

snake with lion's head and with fish-tail (?) 1182 snake with radiate nimbus (or wreath) round head and with fish-tail (?) 1182

Gnostics, formulae of 1137f.

Gordion

*Myth:* ox-drawn car of Gordios 1162

Gordios 1162

Gorgon

*Cult:* Kerne 189<sub>1</sub>

*Epithets:* Γοργείη κεφαλὴ θεοῦ τοῦ πύλου 844<sub>0</sub> Διδὼ τέρας αἰγόχοιο 844<sub>0</sub> ἐν πάροις 850<sub>0</sub> Μέδουσα 851<sub>0</sub>

*Myths:* contest of beauty with Athena 850<sub>0</sub> slain by Athena 844 slain by Perseus 843 846<sub>0</sub>

*Functions:* amulet 846 'apotropaic mask' (?) 846 cuttle-fish (?) 846 'evening angora' (?) 846 gorilla (?) 846 lion (?) 846 moon 845 'nightmare' (?) 846 night-sun or Under-world-sun (?) 845<sub>0</sub> octopus (?) 846 'ritual mask' (?) 846 storm-cloud (?) 846 sun 845 863

*Attributes:* diadem and earrings 851<sub>0</sub>

*Types:* archaic 848 middle 848<sub>2</sub> 849

853 beautiful 849 f. sinister 851

pathetic 851 ultrathetic 851 profile

853 dead 853 Etruscan 853 856<sub>0</sub>

Rondanini 851<sub>1</sub> Strozzi 853<sub>1</sub> Tyszkiewicz 851<sub>2</sub> bearded 862 f. 865 with

winged head 706<sub>2</sub> flanked by lions

844<sub>10</sub> 845<sub>0</sub> Gorgon-headed monster,

with four wings and bird's claws,

clutching two youths 836<sub>3</sub> 844

woman-headed monster, with two

wings and bird's claws, clutching

two youths 836<sub>3</sub>

*Identified with Athena* 189<sub>1</sub>

*Compared with Beauty of the Land* 851<sub>0</sub>

Bes 847<sub>1</sub> Bird Dikjeretto 844 Bird

of Truth 844 Speaking Bird 844

Taitzinaina 844

*In relation to Athena* 836

Gorgones

*Epithets:* Αἰθυσσαι 847<sub>1</sub> Τιβράσαι 847<sub>1</sub>

Gortyna

*Cults:* Zeus 'Αστέριος 953 Zeus Σκόλιος 413<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 618<sub>0</sub> 618<sub>(4)</sub> 1092 men of,

called Kartemnides and Korystioi

1092

Gosforth, the sculptured cross at 1128

Gournia, tubular stands from 197<sub>0</sub>

Gral 505

Gryneion

*Cult:* Apollon 100

Gümbet in Phrygia

*Cult:* Zeus Βροντωρ 1160

Gwydion 51<sub>0</sub>

Gygaia Limne

*Cults:* Artemis Κολοπηή 989 Nymphs

988 f.

*Festival:* annual reed-dance 989

## Gygais Limne (cont.)

- Genealogy*: m. of Talaimenes 989  
— called Koloē Limne 988 called  
Tala (?) 989 floating islands in  
988 ff.

Gyges, king of Lydia, finds horse of bronze 1114

Gyges, s. of Ouranos and Ge 120

Gymnopaiai 97 1008

## Gythion

- Cults*: Poseidon Γαύροχ 112 Zeus  
Ἀγυρ 884<sub>0</sub> Zeus Καρῶνας 884<sub>0</sub>  
939 ff. Zeus Τεράστιος 939

*Myth*: Orestes cured of madness 939  
— coins of 12<sub>0</sub>

## H.A. of the Double Axe

*Cult*: Egypt 351

*Rite*: priest purifies king at his corona-  
tion 351

Hadad 1093 1173 See Adad

## Hades

*Cult*: Mytilene 6

*Epithet*: Κλύμενος 593<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: enthroned with Persephone  
standing beside him 402 seated with  
Persephone seated beside him 425

*Associated with Zeus and Poseidon* 6  
1156 f. (?)

*In relation to pig* 593<sub>0</sub>

— marriage with 395

Hadrā, excavations at 618<sub>(3)</sub> terra-cotta  
plaque from 618<sub>(3)</sub>

## Hadran

*Cult*: Mt Aitne 177<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with Hephaistos* 177<sub>0</sub>

## Hadrian

*Personates Zeus Olympios* 959<sub>0</sub>

Hagelaidas 1153 f.

Hagioi Tessarakonta 11<sub>1</sub>

Hagno, spring on Mt Lykaion 315

Halia 135

## Halikarnassos

*Cults*: Bakchos Ὀμβρικός 558 560<sub>0</sub>  
Zeus Ἀσκραῖος 569

*Rite*: sacrifice of self-chosen goat 569

Halizones 1101

Haloia 178<sub>0</sub> 815<sub>0</sub> 1105 (?)

## Halos

*Cult*: Zeus Λαφόστιος 1167

— bronze statuette of Zeus (?) from  
1167

Halybe See Alybe

Hamalkeides See Amalkeides

Hāpi 345<sub>1</sub>

Hārbaktes See Horos *Epithets*

Harmonia, genealogy of 77<sub>4</sub> tomb of 978

## Harpokrates

*Cult*: Delos 154 f.

*Type*: infant sucking his fingers 1174

## Hathor

*Type*: double bust (with cow) (?) 1132

## Haurān

*Cults*: bull-headed god 1098 Zeus  
Μάραφης 1163

## Hebe

*Cults*: Kynosarges 724 f. Philious 184<sub>2</sub>

Sikyon 184<sub>2</sub>

*Epithet*: Δία 184

*Genealogy*: d. of Zeus 724 f. d. of

Zeus by Hera, and st. of Ares and

Eileithyia 744<sub>(17)</sub>

*Associated with Hera* 704 1048<sub>4</sub> Herakles

704 707 724 f.

*In relation to Eileithyia* 711

## Hecate

*Cult*: Rome 544<sub>2</sub>

See also Hekate

## Hedernheim,

*Cult*: Iupiter Olbius 656<sub>4</sub>

— reliefs from 209 f.

## Heh

*Cult*: Egypt 914<sub>0</sub>

## Hekabe

*Metamorphosed into bitch* 413<sub>0</sub>

*In relation to Hekate* 413<sub>0</sub>

## Hekate

*Cults*: Chalke 544<sub>2</sub> Gaza 553 Pherai 272<sub>0</sub>

Selinous 1188 Stratonikeia 544<sub>2</sub> 1066

*Epithets*: Γοργώ 805<sub>4</sub> Δεδοφόρος 544<sub>2</sub>

είσοδια 413<sub>0</sub> Έροδία 279<sub>4</sub> Καλλίστη

268<sub>0</sub> κυνοκέφαλος 413<sub>0</sub> κυρία 413<sub>0</sub>

κύων 413<sub>0</sub> κύων μέλαινα 413<sub>0</sub> Μήνη

805<sub>4</sub> Μορμώ 805<sub>4</sub> πολυμορφη 805<sub>4</sub>

Προτυλαία 1188 ῥηξιχθων 4<sub>0</sub> Σκο-

λακίτις 413<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Britomartis by Zeus

(?) 544<sub>4</sub>

*Attributes*: myrtle-wreath 272<sub>5</sub> two

torches 272<sub>5</sub> 544

*Type*: holding torches 544

*Identified with Ekata* (?) 545 Kerberos

413<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with Zeus* 544<sub>2</sub> 544<sub>4</sub> 1066

*In relation to Hekabe* 413<sub>0</sub>

## Hektor

*Cult*: Thebes in Boiotia 1174

*Etymology*: 1114 (?) 1174 (?)

Hel 447<sub>0</sub> 447<sub>6</sub>

## Helene

*Myths*: birth from Leda's egg 738 f.

Alexandros 78 Egypt 78 f. Menelaos

78 f. 1179 Proteus 78 Sparta 78

*Genealogy*: st. of Helenos 922

*Associated with Dionysos* 1083 (?)

## Helenos

*Myths*: advises Greeks to fetch

Philoktetes from Lemnos 921

receives from Apollon the prophetic

stone *siderites* or *oreites* 922

*Genealogy*: b. of Helene 922

Helia 901<sub>1</sub>

Helike, in Achaia 21 f. 1118

Heliogabalos, Heliogabalus 901<sub>1</sub> See

Elagabalos, Elagabalus

## Heliopolis in Syria

*Cults*: Adad 1095 Atargatis 1095

Gennaiois 888 Hermes 1093 Iupiter

*Heliopolitanus* 1093 ff. Magna Mater

(?) 1093 Seimios 1095 Zeus 888



## Heliopolis in Syria (cont.)

- excavations at 1093 idol of gilded bronze from 1095

## Helios

- Cults:* Gaza 553 Kara Adili 1071 Mytilene 1184 Thermos in Aitolia 1184

*Epithets:* 'Αρίστος 912 Φέρσιος 1071

*Genealogy:* h. of Rhodos, f. of seven sons, gf. of Ialysos, Kameiros, Lindos 986

*Types:* driving chariot 958 driving quadriga up from sea 718 radiate bust 1126 unworked stone 901

*Identified with* Elagabalos 901, Theos Hypsistos 1163

*Assimilated to* Gorgon 856, 857, 863

*Associated with* Men 1093 Zeus 1184 Zeus and Ge 1184

*In relation to* Dionysos 718, Nemesis 1073

— *baityloi* dedicated to 889

## Heliaseiros

*Cult:* Chalkis ad Belum (?) 1074

## Hellas 1092

## Hellas personified 956

## Helle 1092

## Hellenes 1092

## Hellepontos 1092

## Helli 1092

## Hellos 1092

## Heliotis

*Cults:* Argos 1092 Crete 1092

## Hemera

*Type:* carrying Kephalos 1186

## Hemithes 458(?)

## Heos (Eos)

*Myths:* sheds tears of dew for death of Memnon 260 tends Tithonos in old age 247 transforms Tithonos into cicada 247

*Genealogy:* m. of Memnon by Tithonos 260

*Types:* pursuing Kephalos 187, bearing off Kephalos 187 pouring ambrosia (?) over old Tithonos 247

— as *Aurora* imported into myth of Prokris 73

## Heosphoros

*Cult:* Saracens 915, 917

## Hephaisteion at Athens 213 ff. 223

## Hephaistia in Lemnos

*Cults:* Athena 216, Hephaistos 216,

— *Aggicás-pillar* (?) at 1120 coins of 233<sub>2</sub>

## Hephaistia in Lykia 228

## Hephaistia, the festival at Athens 213

## Hephaistias in Lemnos 229

## Hephaistion See Hephaisteion at Athens

## Hephaistion in Lykia 228

## Hephaistos, Mts of, in Lykia 228

## Hephaistos

*Cults:* Mt Aitne 177, Athens 211 ff. 226 f. 758 Lemnos 226 ff. Pelasgians 191, 226 ff.

## Hephaistos (cont.)

*Epithets:* κλυτὸς 201, πολυτέχνης

201, πυρόεις 235, χαλκείος 866<sub>2</sub>

*Festivals:* Athenais 212 f. Chalkeia

211 ff. Hephaistia 213

*Rite:* marriage with Lemnos 233 f. (?)

*Priest:* ιερεὺς 213<sub>2</sub>

*Myths:* cleaves head of Zeus 125, 222

477 660 f. falls from heaven 228

hidden for nine years by Eurynome

and Thetis 228 fashions woman

201 gives *aigis* to Zeus 866 gives

club and breastplate to Herakles

1186 makes magical throne for

Hera 222 makes shield of Achilles

596 f. makes sword for Peleus 209<sub>1</sub>

makes thunderbolt for Zeus 222

sleeps with Aphrodite 175<sub>2</sub> woos

Athena 218 ff. 236 274 734

*Genealogy:* s. of Hera 235<sub>2</sub> f. of

Erichthonios by Athena 236 f. f. of

Erichthonios by Ge 236

*Functions:* arts and crafts 201 fire

227 f. fire on earth 234 fire spring-

ing from ground 228 lightning-flash

235 originally husband of Athena

200 223 736 758 867 originally

Pelasgian sky-father in Asia Minor

236 736

*Etymology:* 190, 200<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes:* axe (?) 1106 double axe 125<sub>3</sub>

200 235 477 867 1060 *pilos* 234<sub>0</sub>

pincers 1057

*Types:* flying from scene of Athena's

birth 711 forging thunderbolt for

Athena 210 f. presenting helmet to

Athena 207 pursuing Athena 220 f.

seated beside Athena in Parthenon

frieze 205 grouped with Athena in

the Hephaisteion 213 ff. Alkamenes

215 in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve

Gods 1055 ff.

*Identified with* Hadran 177<sub>0</sub>

*Associated with* Athena 200 ff. 736

Charis 958

*In relation to* Kadmilos 190, Philoktetes

190<sub>1</sub>

*Supersedes* Zeus 188

— list of objects made by 209<sub>1</sub>

## Hepit

*Cult:* Hittites 1131

— reliefs from 209 f.

## Hera

*Cults:* Argos 65 66 566<sub>2</sub> 725<sub>4</sub> 1043 ff.

1085 Athens 66<sub>3</sub> 725 Boiotia 61<sub>1</sub>

Carthage 1045 Hermione 1043

Mt Kithairon 1042 Korkyra 1120

Kos 66<sub>2</sub> Kypros 66<sub>2</sub> Lebadeia 61<sub>1</sub>

Lindos 61<sub>1</sub> Mykenai 1045 Naukratis

1187 Orchomenos in Boiotia 949<sub>0</sub>

Phokis 61<sub>1</sub> Pisidia 61<sub>1</sub> Plataiai 932

1042<sub>2</sub> Mt Pron 65 Samos 645<sub>0</sub> 969

1027 ff. 1045 Sikinos (?) 61<sub>1</sub> Stym-

phalos 1070 Tarentum 636<sub>0</sub> Thorikos

725<sub>4</sub> Tiryns 1085

## Hera (cont.)

*Epithets*: 'Ακρία 1120 'Αργεία 66<sub>2</sub> 1045  
1085 Βασίλεια 66<sub>2</sub> Γαμήλιος 1042  
Ελευθία 725<sub>4</sub> 'Ελέια 66<sub>2</sub> Εύρωπία  
216<sub>1</sub> Ζωγία 949<sub>0</sub> 1060<sub>7</sub> Λητώ Νυχία  
1042 Νυμφευμένη 1042<sub>5</sub> Παμβασίλεια  
61<sub>1</sub> Παρθενία 1027<sub>1</sub> Παρθένος 1043  
1044<sub>4</sub> πολυώνυμος 61<sub>1</sub> πόρνια 736<sub>2</sub>  
*sidere regina poli* 1046 Τελέια 65 932  
948<sub>18</sub> 949<sub>0</sub> 1042 1042<sub>4</sub> 1044<sub>4</sub> 1060<sub>7</sub>  
Χήρα 1070

*Festivals*: πανταγρηστή 356<sub>5</sub> the Shield  
from Argos 356<sub>5</sub> Toncea 1028 ff.

*Rites*: annual bathing in Kanathos  
224<sub>2</sub> 1032<sub>2</sub> 1044<sub>4</sub> bathing in Par-  
thenios 1027<sub>1</sub> (?) 1031 (?) 1032<sub>2</sub> (?)  
bathing in Theren 1032<sub>2</sub> (?) leg of  
victim reserved for Hera 566<sub>2</sub>  
σπιβάδες or σπιβάδεια 61<sub>1</sub> veil pre-  
sented by Argive women 1046

*Priests*: κλειδοῦχοι 66<sub>2</sub> Milon holding  
pomegranate as priest of Hera (?)  
816<sub>0</sub> 817<sub>0</sub>

*Priestesses*: ἰδέαια 1085 Kallithyia  
1085 (Kydlippe or Theano) drawn by  
white oxen 1044

*Personated by* Aspasia 32<sub>2</sub> 66<sub>4</sub>

*Myths*: courted by Zeus for three  
hundred years 1025 wooed by Zeus  
clandestinely 1025 f. grows up and  
marries Zeus in Samos 1027 bathes  
in Aborras after marriage with Zeus  
1027<sub>1</sub> consorts with Zeus 35 58 65  
111 111<sub>1</sub> 180 744<sub>1</sub> (?) 1025 ff. carried  
off by Zeus from Eubolia to Boiotia  
1042 Διὸς δώρημα 35 180 924 1065  
hung up by Zeus with *akmones*  
fastened to her feet 924 threatened  
by Zeus with flogging 924 contest  
with Poseidon 751<sub>1</sub> Endymion 74  
Hesperides 1064 Ixion 74 f. judg-  
ment of Paris 67 receives bough of  
golden apples as wedding-gift from  
Ge 1064 sends Argonauts past  
Planktai 975 simulated birth of  
Herakles 89<sub>1</sub> suckles Herakles 89<sub>1</sub>  
92<sub>0</sub> 94<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Eileithyia 711 725  
1032<sub>2</sub> m. of Hephaistos 235<sub>2</sub> m. of  
Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Zeus  
744<sub>1</sub> (?) m. of Herakles by Zeus  
92<sub>0</sub> (?)

*Functions*: not *ab initio* the wife of  
Zeus 744<sub>1</sub> 1025 1065 marriage-  
goddess 948<sub>18</sub> 1042 1060<sub>7</sub> αἶρ 726<sub>0</sub>  
1046<sub>5</sub> cloud (?) 75<sub>1</sub> rain (?) 75<sub>1</sub>

*Attributes*: Charites 65 Horai 65 sceptre  
65 816<sub>0</sub> 1039 f. 1048<sub>4</sub> cuckoo-sceptre  
65 67 1044 lily-sceptre 92<sub>0</sub> *stephane*  
67 1039 f. floral *stephane* 92<sub>0</sub> rayed  
*stephane* 1041 veil 636<sub>0</sub> 1033 1039 f.  
1057 1060 star-spangled veil 1040  
wedding-ring 1033 willow-wreath  
1053 (?) lily 92<sub>0</sub> pomegranate 65  
816<sub>0</sub> 1043 lion 67<sub>2</sub> panther 67

## Hera (cont.)

*Types*: pillar 1085 on pillar 638<sub>0</sub>

Athenis and Boupalos 969 Smilis  
1027 Polykleitos 65 816<sub>0</sub> 1043 f.  
Praxiteles (?) 932 f. Ludovisi 1117  
obscene (?) 1027<sub>5</sub> enthroned 67 f.  
seated on rock 701 seated beside  
Zeus as bride and bridegroom 1027 f.  
seated with Zeus seated before her  
1048 seated with Zeus seated beside  
her 1048 f. seated with Zeus seated  
*en échelon* 1053 seated with Zeus  
seated facing her 1049 ff. seated  
with Zeus standing before her 687  
in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve  
Gods 1055 ff. veiled 1045 virgin  
seated on lion (Iuno *Caelestis*) 1045  
*Associated with* Hebe 704 1048<sub>4</sub> Leto  
1042 Zeus 745 958 1025 ff.

*In relation to* Herakles 1045<sub>2</sub> Zeus 633<sub>0</sub>  
1025 ff.

*Supersedes* Eileithyia 685<sub>2</sub> Leto 1042

— couch of 1044 1044<sub>4</sub> garden of  
1064

Herakleia in Lucania, coins of 714<sub>4</sub> 794 820<sub>2</sub>

Herakleides Pontikos, pretends on his  
death-bed to become a snake 773<sub>1</sub>

Herakleitos 234 1046<sub>5</sub>

## Herakles

*Cults*: Diomeia 594 724 Gadeira 983  
Kynosarges 724 Mt Kynthos 1172  
Sebastopolis (Herakleopolis) 408<sub>0</sub>  
Tyre 892 f. 978

*Epithets*: 'Αλεξίκακε 508<sub>2</sub> ἀναξ παρὸς,  
ὄρχαμε κόσμου, 'Ηέλιος, κ.τ.λ. 893<sub>1</sub>  
'Αστροχίτων 892 f. 978 'Ηραϊος 216<sub>1</sub>  
1047<sub>11</sub> τρισκεπες 508<sub>2</sub> 509<sub>0</sub> τρισέληνος  
508<sub>2</sub> 509<sub>0</sub> Χάρου 1165

*Myths*: simulated birth from Hera 89<sub>1</sub>  
suckled by Hera 89<sub>1</sub> 92<sub>0</sub> 94<sub>0</sub> as infant  
strangles snakes 767<sub>2</sub> Atlas 956  
Ange 823 Delphic tripod 409<sub>0</sub> 799<sub>1</sub>  
Hesperides 1019 Hydra 795 ff.  
Kerberos 408<sub>0</sub> Nemean lion 956  
Periklymenos 744<sub>4</sub> Prometheus 956  
Virtue (Athena) and Vice (Aphro-  
dite) 839 pyre on Mt Oite 512 ff.

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus by Alkmene  
w. of Amphitryon 506 s. of Zeus by  
Hera 92<sub>0</sub> (?) s. of Uni (Iuno) 92<sub>0</sub> f. of  
Tyraenos by the Lydian woman  
(Omphale) 729<sub>2</sub> ancestor of  
Ptolemies 1172

*Attribute*: lion-skin 841<sub>1</sub>

*Types*: double bust (with Hermes)  
1132 dragging off two-headed  
Kerberos 399 dragging off three-  
headed Kerberos 402 f. feasting in  
Olympos 724<sub>0</sub> fighting Amazons 955  
fighting Centaur (?) 1142 'Lans-  
downe' 704<sub>2</sub> recumbent 714 robbed  
of weapons by Eros 1019 with Eros  
on his shoulder 1019 f.

*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeni-  
culus 489 ff. Melqarth 893



## Herakles (cont.)

Associated with Athena 958 Hebe 704  
707 724 f.

In relation to Hera 1045; Iphikles 506  
sea-gull 52

— emerald *stèle* of 892 initiation of  
724<sub>0</sub> 724<sub>1</sub> pillars of 978 983  
provenance of 1136

Hercle 92<sub>0</sub> 839 1090

Herculeaneum, silver buckle from 755

## Hercules

Cults: Nikais in Liguria 492<sub>1</sub> Numidia  
1078

Epithets: *Lapidarius* 492; *Saxanus* 492;

Personated by Commodus 1100

Myth: birth delayed by Lucina 663<sub>2</sub>

Function: quarries 492<sub>1</sub>

Types: in Pompeian painting of Twelve  
Gods 1062<sub>2(12)</sub> in silver shrine 1155

— table of 1044<sub>1</sub>

Hercules, the constellation 491

## Herkyna

Cult: Lebadeia 1182

## Hermaistai 155

## Hermes

Cults: Ainos in Thrace 1137 Athens  
725 Heliopolis in Syria 1093 Kyllene  
725<sub>2</sub> Lydo-Phrygians 283<sub>4</sub> Peiraeus  
1083 Pelasgians 191<sub>0</sub> Sedasa 1071

Epithets: *Ἄϊμιος* 325<sub>2</sub> 332 *αἰθέριον*  
*δρόμιον* *εὐλάσιον* *ἐπὶ τάρταρα γαίης*  
332<sub>3</sub> *Ἀργεῖφόντη* 1132 *διὰ κροτοῦ* 498<sub>0</sub>  
*ἐκκάρδιε* 332<sub>2</sub> *ἐριούσιος* 181<sub>1</sub> *Ἐριφύλλ-*  
*ιος* (?) *Ἐριφύλλος* 321<sub>0</sub> *ἐριχθόνιος*  
181<sub>1</sub> *Κανδαβλίας* 283<sub>4</sub> 416<sub>0</sub> *κοσμοκράτ-*  
*ωρ* 332<sub>2</sub> *κύκλιε* *σελήνης* 332<sub>2</sub> *Κυλλήνιος*  
671<sub>2</sub> 675 *Κυνάγκης* 283<sub>4</sub> 416<sub>0</sub> *λόγων*  
*ἀρχηγέτα* *γλώσσης* 332<sub>2</sub> *Μαιαδεύς*  
1131 *Μέγιστος* 1071 *μηχανιώτης* 94<sub>2</sub>  
567<sub>0</sub> *παντοκράτωρ* 332<sub>2</sub> *πειθοδικαί-*  
*ουκε* 332<sub>2</sub> *Περφεραῖος* 1137 *πνεύματος*  
*ἡμίονο* 332<sub>2</sub> *πτηνοπόδιε* 332<sub>2</sub> *σπαρ-*  
*γανιώτης* 94<sub>2</sub> *στρουγγίλε* *καὶ τετράγωνε*  
332<sub>2</sub> *Τρισεμέγιστος* 332<sub>2</sub> *Φαλάνθης*  
(?) *Φαλανθεύς* 321<sub>0</sub> *Χθόνιος* 181<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>2</sub>  
*χλαμυδφόρε* 332<sub>2</sub> *ψυχοπομπός* 332<sub>2</sub>

Rite: at Chytroi 604<sub>2</sub>

Personated by high-priest at Olba 654<sub>0</sub>

Myths: born on Mt Kerykion 417<sub>0</sub>  
cleaves head of Zeus 661 attends  
birth of Dionysos 80<sub>2(12)</sub> 83<sub>4(12)</sub> 85<sub>0(12)</sub>

Genealogy: s. of Maia 1131 f. of  
Kephalos by Herse 246 f. of Keryx  
by Aglauros or Pandrose (Pandrosos)  
602 f. of Tat 332<sub>2</sub>

Etymology: 411<sub>0</sub> (?)

Attributes: *caduceus* 675 eagle 1071  
goat 1060 winged *pétasos* 39 purse  
1082

Types: *phallós* 725<sub>2</sub> *χάναον* 725<sub>2</sub>  
bearded 1060<sub>1</sub> double bust (with  
Herakles) 1132 Lysippos 706 f.  
Damophon 567<sub>0</sub> in archaistic reliefs  
of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. sandal-  
binding 706<sub>6</sub> 707<sub>0</sub> standing axe in

## Hermes (cont.)

hand 661 standing with purse,  
*caduceus*, and ram 1160 with *cadu-*  
*ceus* and eagle 1071 with *phallós*  
ending in ram's head 1082 with  
supported foot 638<sub>0</sub> 640<sub>0</sub> with winged  
head 706

Identified with Thoth 332<sub>2</sub>

Assimilated to Gennaïos 1093

Associated with Hestia 958 Zeus 1071

— Epeiros' statue of, caught by  
fishermen in net 1137

## Hermione

Cult: Hera Παρθένος 1043

Myths: Zeus and Hera come to  
'anchorage' 1043 Zeus transforms  
himself into cuckoo 1043

## Hermonthis

Cult: Bakha 953<sub>2</sub>

— excavations at 1082

Herodias 163<sub>2</sub>Heros κατά πρέμνας 158<sub>4</sub>Heros ὁ ἐπὶ βλαύτῃ 177<sub>1</sub>

## Herse

Myth: Erichthonios 186 248<sub>0</sub> 764 f.

Genealogy: d. of Kekrops 166 d. of  
Zeus 261 d. of Zeus by Selene 179 f.  
m. of Kephalos by Hermes 246

Function: personification of dew 237  
245 944

## Hesperides

Myths: Hera 1064 Herakles 1019

Type: Pansinos 956

— garden of 404<sub>0</sub> 1064

## Hestia

Cults: Dura-Europos (?) 1163 Kos 565 f.  
Thasos 1125

Epithet: Βουλαια 1125

Rite: Coan sacrifice of ox that bowed  
its neck 565

Attributes: sceptre 1057 veil 1057

Types: in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve  
Gods 1055 ff. seated with Zeus seated  
facing her 1050<sub>0</sub> virginal, but with  
prominent breasts 1107

Associated with Hermes 958 Zeus 1050<sub>0</sub>  
1052<sub>1</sub> 1125

## Heudanemioi 103 f.

## Hendanemos 103 f.

## Hierapolis in Syria

Priest: 'cock' 1097

## Hierapytna

Cult: Zeus Σκόλλιος 413<sub>0</sub>

## Hierax Theos See Horos Epithets

Hieron, on Thracian Bosphoros 142 f. 145  
147 f.

Hieros Gamos 1047 See also Index II

Hilarion, St 915<sub>2</sub> 1182

Himalia 477 518

Himera, coins of 853<sub>0</sub> 929

## Himeros

Type: prompting 1018

Hindus, ceremonial rebirth of 1092

Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos 956

Hippokentauroi 75<sub>0</sub>

- Hippolytos**  
*Type*: with Eros at his shoulder 1022 (?)
- Hippolytus**, St 338<sub>1</sub>
- Hippotes** 107<sub>2</sub>
- Hipta** 1078 1131
- Hestia** See Hestia
- Hestie** See Hestia
- Hittite** forms of early Greek names in the cuneiform texts from Boghaz-Keni 112<sub>0</sub>
- Hittites**  
*Cults*: bronze cattle (?) 1102 dagger-god 1140 (bibliography) Hepit 1131 Isakallis 1174 lion-god 837 mother-goddess standing on lion 834 Mother of the gods 916<sub>1</sub> Tarku (?) 651<sub>0</sub> 652<sub>0</sub> Illujankas 1135  
*In relation to Kabeiroi* 1128
- Hobal** 334<sub>1</sub>
- Holda**  
*Functions*: chthonic 447<sub>6</sub> fertility of soil 447<sub>6</sub> sky-power 446 snow 447 souls of the dead 447<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 447<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: black woman 448 white lady 448  
*Identified with Minerva* 210 (?)  
*Superseded by St Lucy* 447<sub>6</sub>
- Holl** 446
- Holle** 446 447<sub>6</sub>
- Horai**  
*Genealogy*: daughters of Zeus 955 daughters of Zeus by Themis 744<sub>1</sub> (2)  
*Function*: doorkeepers of Zeus 34  
*Types*: four Seasons as children 1127 f. holding flower, grapes, corn 1057 holding pomegranate in right hand and bird, flower, or doubtful object in left 818<sub>0</sub> (?) neo-Attic 659<sub>0</sub> 660<sub>0</sub> Sosias-kēlitz 818<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to Zeus* 1057
- Horites of Mt Seir**  
*Cult*: Hurun 1076
- Horos**  
*Epithets*: Ἀρβάκρης 1073 Ἰεραξ Θεός 1073  
*Types*: head on feeding-bottle 193 (3) sparrow-hawk 1073  
*Identified with Apollon* 984  
 — children of 345<sub>1</sub>
- Hulda** 446
- Hulle** 446
- Hungary**, gold cicalas from 253<sub>0</sub> f.
- Hurun**  
*Cults*: Horites of Mt Seir 1076 Pi-Ramses 1076  
*Type*: falcon 1076
- Hyades** 512 518 660<sub>0</sub> (?) 1082
- Hyakinthos** 460
- Hybla**  
*Cult*: Apollon 1029
- Hybris, the Silenos** 513
- Hybristas** 1150
- Hydra**  
*Myths*: Herakles 795 ff. Iolaos 797  
 — as attribute of Aion 1180
- Hydrophoria** 603 f. 603<sub>12</sub>
- Hygieia**, name of, on amulets 343 (?) on *lekkythos* from Gela 775 (?)
- Hymettos**, Mt  
*Cults*: Gaia 526<sub>2</sub> (?) Zeus Ὀρβηριος 526
- Hynnaron**, Mt  
*Cult*: Zeus Ὀρβηριος 1177
- Hypaipa**, coin of 899<sub>0</sub> (3)
- Hypanis** 653 ep. 655<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Hypatios**, St 992 f.
- Hyperboreoi**  
*Myth*: Apollon takes Kroisos to their land 520  
*Rite*: sacrifice of asses to Apollon 106<sub>1</sub>  
 — further bibliography of 1136 f.
- Hyperieia**, fountain-nymph at Pherai 272<sub>0</sub>
- Hypermetra**  
*Myth*: saves Lynkeus and is imprisoned by Danaos 356 369; ultimately weds Lynkeus 356
- Hypermetra** See Hypermetra
- Hyperoche** 1172
- Hyperochos**, slain by Phemios 1105
- Hypnos**  
*Type*: with winged head 706<sub>2</sub>
- Hypsipyle** 360<sub>1</sub>
- Hypsouranos** 983
- Hystaspes**, the Mage 1147
- Hysteria**, the festival 320<sub>4</sub>
- Ialysos**, ga. of Helios 986
- Ianiculum**, statuette of gilded bronze from Syrian sanctuary on 1114
- Ianus**  
*Epithets*: divom deus 1130 Quadrifrons 1132  
*Attribute*: pétasos 1131  
 — 'polarity' of (?) 1130
- Iapetos** 3<sub>0</sub>
- Iapyges** 925<sub>2</sub>
- Iapyx** 364<sub>1</sub>
- Iaribol**  
*Cult*: Palmyra 1158 f.  
*Type*: in military dress with rayed nimbus and sceptre 1159  
*Associated with Bel and Aglibol* 1158 f.
- Iasion**  
*Myths*: lies with Demeter 75 ff. or with phantom of Demeter 77 or with statue of Demeter 77 is thunder-struck by Zeus 76  
*Genealogy*: s. of Katreus by Phronia 77<sub>4</sub> s. of Zeus by Elektra 77<sub>4</sub> f. of Ploutos 75 f.  
*Identified with Eétion* 77<sub>4</sub>
- Iasios** 76<sub>1</sub> See Iasion
- Iaso** 1083
- Iason**  
*Myths*: first sacrifices to Twelve Gods 147 f. founds temple of Zeus on Boeoporos 148  
*Genealogy*: s. of Aison s. of Kretheus s. of Aiolos 148
- Iason** 76<sub>1</sub> See Iasion



Iasos in Karia 76<sub>1</sub>

*Cult:* Zeus *Ἰάσιος* 1162

Iasos 76<sub>1</sub> See Iasion

Iasos 76<sub>1</sub> See Iasion

Iberians

*Cults:* bull 1090 horse-headed god with human hands and feet 1179

*Rites:* dance of men wearing bulls' horns and hoofs (?) 1090 mumming play (?) 1178

— column of, decorated with double axes 1138

Idaean Daktyloi See Daktyloi

Idas

*Compared with Dryas* 1072

Ide, a Cretan Nymph 931, 982 (?)

Ide, a Phrygian Nymph 982 (?)

Ide, Mt. in Crete

*Cults:* Daktyloi 1033, Rhea 1033<sub>1</sub>

Ide, Mt. in Phrygia (Mysia)

*Cults:* Daktyloi 1033, Mother of the gods 893 Rhea 1033<sub>1</sub>

*Myths:* Daktyloi (Kelmis, Damnameneus, Akmon) discover iron 922 Zeus consorts with Hera 35 180 1032 ff. Zeus visited by Apollon and Iris 35

Idoumaioi

*Cult:* Koze 334<sub>1</sub>

Iduna 65<sub>9</sub>

Idyia 743<sub>9</sub>

Ikaris 594

Ikaros

*Attributes:* double axe 1111 square 1111

*Compared with Daidalos and Talos* 1111

Ikouion

*Myths:* Annakos 527 f. Prometheus and Athena make images of clay 528

— Paul and Thekla at 523 f.

Ilion

*Cult:* Athena 283<sub>4</sub>

*Rite:* bull-hanging for Athena 283<sub>4</sub>

Ilujankas 1135

Illyrioi

*Cult:* Arantides (?) 1184

*Myths:* Akrisios (?) 1187 Daunus 364 Teutamidas (?) 1187

Imbrasos 1029

Imbros, Epiphany song from 295 f.

Im-dugud 1155

Inachos

*Myth:* punished by Poseidon with drought 355 f.

Inachos, the river 224<sub>3</sub> 361

Inarime 3<sub>9</sub>

India

*Cults:* Ganges 531 Indra 531 Vishnu 546<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Ἰνδῶν* 531

*Rites:* jar of rains 107 f. jar of winds 104; 107 f.

— early coinage of 532 f. 540 ff. 871 f.

Indra

*Cult:* India 531

*Myths:* combat with demons 362<sub>2</sub> slays

Indra (cont.)

Namuki with foam 273 fights Vṛtra

531 slays Vṛtra with thunderbolt 273<sub>2</sub> 362<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy:* s. of Dyaus 531

*Function:* storm 544

*Etymology:* 1078 (?)

*Attribute:* vajra 926

*Identified with Zeus* 540 545

— elephant of 546 f.

Ingenicalus See Engonasin

Ino 133 135 1104

Inōnā in Phrygia

*Cults:* Asklepios 1146 draped goddess

holding grape-bunch and cornu

*copiae* 1146 Nemesis 1146 rider-god

1146 Theoi Hosiōi kai Dikaiōi 1146

Zeus *Ἰνῶν* 1160 Zeus *Μέγιστος* 1160

— altars from 1146 1160

Io

*Epithet:* Καλλιόβρεσσα 1082 1085

*Myths:* travels 360<sub>4</sub> Zeus 615<sub>2</sub> 631 ff.

*Types:* heifer 631<sub>4</sub> heifer with human

face 634<sub>1</sub> maiden with heifer's ears

and horns 634<sub>2</sub> maiden with heifer's

horns 634 637<sub>2</sub> ff. maiden with heifer

at her side 634 641<sub>4</sub> antefixes 635<sub>9</sub>

in arabesque 640<sub>9</sub> in bridal array

636<sub>9</sub>

— bibliography of 1082

Iolaos

*Myths:* Delphic tripod 799<sub>1</sub> Herakles suckled by Hera 89<sub>1</sub> Hydra 797

*Type:* duplicated 89<sub>1</sub> (?)

Ioulis

*Cults:* Aphrodite *Κρήσουλλα* 269<sub>1</sub> Artemis 269

— coins of 269 271

Iovis Opulentia 156

Iovos 1115 See Iupiter

Iphigeneia

*Epithet:* Ὀρσιλοχία 99<sub>9</sub>

*Myth:* sacrifice of, commuted to sacrifice of deer or bear or bull 233<sub>1</sub>

Iphikles

*Genealogy:* s. of Amphitryon by Alkmene 506

*In relation to Herakles* 506

Irekepaigos 1179 See Erikepaigos

Irene, St 472<sub>2</sub>

Iris

*Functions:* bridesmaid of Hera 1033 f. messenger of Zeus 54

*Attribute:* knotted or studded staff 94<sub>9</sub>

*Types:* standing before seated Hera 1051<sub>9</sub> standing beside seated Hera 1053

Irminsāl, as support of sky 1116 f.

Ishum

*Cult:* Babylonia 889

*Function:* fire 889

Isis

*Cults:* Athens 588<sub>1</sub> Delos 154 f. Egypt 302<sub>9(a)</sub> Pompeii 641<sub>4</sub> Rhodes 986

## Isis (cont.)

- Genealogy*: m. by Dionysos of Apollon and Artemis 984  
*Functions*: earth 302<sub>9(10)</sub> 344<sub>1</sub> 351  
 'Queen of Heaven' 350  
*Attribute*: starry robe 350  
*Types*: 'Canopus' 346 double bust (with Apis) 1132  
*Identified with* Eumenouthis (?) 349  
 Theonoe (?) 349  
*Associated with* Nephthys, Neith, and Selket or Serqet 345<sub>1</sub>  
 — earth 'the body of Isis' 351 the star of 180

Isakallis, Hittite form of Attis 1174

## Istar

- Functions*: morning- and evening-star 834 ravisher of men 834  
*Type*: nude goddess 834  
 Istros, the river, names of 368<sub>0</sub> source of 1117

See also Danuvius

Istros, the town, coins of 1137

Italy, coins of central 342<sub>9(12)</sub>

## Itanos

- Cults*: Athena 126<sub>1</sub> 127 'Triton' 126<sub>4</sub> 127

— coins of 126<sub>4</sub> 127Itanos, eponym 126<sub>4</sub>

Iulianus, the Chaldaean 332

## Iuno

- Cults*: Campania 1155 Falerii 802<sub>3</sub> Lanuvium 837<sub>4</sub> Rome 23  
*Epithets*: *Caelestis* 1045<sub>5</sub> *Feronia* 1155  
*Lucina* 1044<sub>4</sub> 1117 *Moneta* 23<sub>3</sub>  
*Sisypia Mater Regina* 837<sub>4</sub> *Sospita* 837

*Rites*: annual sacrifice of virgin at Falerii 802<sub>3</sub> (?) sacrifice of pregnant sow 23

*Functions*: aer 235<sub>0</sub> childbirth 1117

*Attributes*: peacock 41 *stephane* with nine crescents 1117

*Types*: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(1 f.)</sub> virgin seated on lion 1045

*Identified with* earth 452

— couch of 1044<sub>4</sub> star of 180

## Iupiter

- Cults*: Alban Mt 492 Amathous in Kypros 653<sub>0</sub> Apulum 1140 Bononia in Bulgaria 1098 Campania 1155 Capua 656<sub>2</sub> Delos 155 Heddernheim 656<sub>2</sub> Heliopolis in Syria 1093 ff. Maiden Castle (?) 1098 f. Makedonia 148<sub>2</sub> Nescania 1129 Numidia 1078 Pompeii 29<sub>4</sub> Rome 433<sub>0</sub> 544<sub>2</sub> 1097 f. Salamis in Kypros 646<sub>0</sub> Syracuse 148 Volsci 1155

*Epithets*: *Aeternus* 947 *Anxur* 1155 *Anxurus* 1155 *Bronton* 544<sub>2</sub> *Buzsumarius* 1140 *Buzsumarius* 1140 *Capitolinus* 246<sub>0</sub> 562<sub>3</sub> 707<sub>2</sub> 1066 *Consecrator* 946 *Conservator Totius Poli* 947 *deus deorum* 1130

## Iupiter (cont.)

- Dolichenus* 37<sub>4</sub> 831 945 946 f. 1097 f. (bibliography) *Elicius* 433<sub>0</sub> *Exhibitor Invictus* 947 *Heliopolitanus* 945 1093 1095 *Hospes* 653<sub>0</sub> *Ilicius* 433<sub>0</sub> (?) *Imperator* 148 *Maius* 321<sub>0</sub> *Nasamonius Tonans* 325<sub>2</sub> *nubilus* 36<sub>1</sub> *Numen Praestantissimum* 947 *Olbius* 656<sub>2</sub> 656<sub>4</sub> *Optimus Maximus* 947 1093 1098 1140 *Pantheus* 1129 *Pluvialis* 324 *Pluvius* 324 333 *Purpurio* 55<sub>2</sub> *Sabaes* 656<sub>2</sub> *Salaminus* 646<sub>0</sub> *Secundanus* 156 f. *Secundus* 156 157 *Secundanus* 155 ff. *Syrius* 902<sub>3</sub> *Terminalis* 1183 *Terminus* 1183 *verveceus* 1078

*Festivals*: *Latiar* 432<sub>1</sub> *Latinae* 432<sub>1</sub>

*Rites*: *aqualicium* 432<sub>2</sub> human sacrifice to Iupiter *Elicius* commuted 433<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: flamen *Dialis* must neither touch nor mention dog or goat 243<sub>2</sub>

*Personated by* Commodus 1100 magistrate presiding at games 562<sub>2</sub>

*Myths*: consorts with Ceres 452 in Gigantomachy gets thunderbolts from eagle 792<sub>2</sub> rains blood before death of M. Marcellus 479 rescues Alcmena 517 transforms ants into men (Myrmidones) 608<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy*: f. of Aeacus by Aegina 608<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: *aether* 235<sub>0</sub> *ignis* 235<sub>0</sub> lightning 433<sub>0</sub> rain 432<sub>2</sub> wind 107 157 protector of boundaries 1183 ruler of starry sky 948

*Etymology*: 452<sub>1</sub>

*Attribute*: eagle 41

*Types*: beardless 1062<sub>2(1)</sub>? with white hair 734<sub>0</sub> silver bust 1155 1160 half-length figure fulminant 333 enthroned above clouds 40 surrounded by zodiac etc. 1159 seated between Minerva and Iuno 40 f. 41 standing on bull 831 holding whip and corn-ears with *pólos* on head and bulls beside him 1093 in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(1 f.)</sub>

*Identified with* air 452 rain 452 452<sub>3</sub> sky 452 Elagabalos 902 904 Marnas 555 f.

Iupiter, the planet 71<sub>1</sub>

Institia 823<sub>7</sub>

Iuturna (Dinturna)

*Etymology*: 1112 f.

## Ixion

*Personates* Zeus 141

*Myths*: Hera 74 f. Zeus 74 f. 974

*Genealogy*: f. of Kentaurus 75

*Types*: Greek 1072 Etruscan 1072 Roman 1072 Byzantine 1072

*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483

Jack of the Hammer 1142

Jacob, ladder of 1118 f.



Jains 1120

Jehovah

*Cult*: Thessalonike 1162*Epithet*: *εὐαγγέλιον* 21*Functions*: earthquake 5<sub>9</sub> 10<sub>1</sub> 21 storm 324<sub>1</sub> 884<sub>9</sub>*Attributes*: hawk (?) 558 high crown 1072 thunderbolt 1072*Types*: as a solar Zeus 558 bearded head wearing wreath 558 (?) drawn by Cherubim 324<sub>1</sub> seated on throne, with thunderbolt in right hand, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat with stem and stern ending in a bird's head 1072 seated on winged wheel 558*Identified with* Marnas 558 (?) Theos Hypsistos 1162 Zeus 945*Compared with* Amen 884<sub>9</sub>*In relation to* Zeus *Κάτορος* in Egypt 1177

Jerash See Gerasa

Jews

*Rites*: alleged sacrifice of children to Moloch by fire 611<sub>5</sub> *Μωροδοξία* 1081

John the Baptist

*Cult*: Malta 1031<sub>7</sub> (?)*Supersedes* Adonis 1031<sub>7</sub> (?)

John the Evangelist, St, in Patmos 986

Jordan 295 f.

Juktas, Mt, profile of Zeus on 1173

Ka'bah

*Festival*: annual covering in black with inscribed gold band 918 f.*Myths*: brought from heaven by Gabriel 917<sub>5</sub> first white, then black 917<sub>5</sub> escapes deluge 917<sub>5</sub> Abraham consorts with Hagar upon it 917<sub>7</sub> 918 Abraham fastens his camel to it, when about to sacrifice Isaac 917<sub>7</sub>*Functions*: 'in pre-Islamic times the meteoric form of an Arab deity, either Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon (V. Dalberg)' (?) 917 'originally a goddess embodied as an aerolite and annually draped in accordance with an ancient marriage-rite' (?) 916<sub>1</sub>— Arab beliefs concerning 917 f. described by J. L. Burckhardt 919 f. described by Sir R. F. Burton 918 f. described by Sir W. Muir 919<sub>1</sub>Kabeirion at Thebes in Boiotia, vase from 160 votive table from 580<sub>9</sub>

Kabeiroi

*Cults*: Delos 1172 Mt Kynthos 1172 Phoinike 1001*Priest*: *κοῖρος* or *κόρος* 1083*Etymology*: 1128*In relation to* Genius Cucullatus 1183

Hittites 1128 St Thomas 1128

— bibliography of 1128

Kabeiros

*Cult*: Thessalonike 902<sub>7</sub>

C. III.

Kadmilos 190<sub>7</sub>

Kadmos

*Genealogy*: h. of Harmonia 77<sub>4</sub>

— tomb of 978

Kaikias 130

Kaineus 3<sub>9</sub>

Kairos

*Type*: Lysippos 970

— bibliography of 1161

Kaisareia in Kappadokia

*Cults*: Tyche (Tranquillina) 1177 Zeus 1177

— coins of 1177

Kaisareia Paneas, bronze group at 971<sub>1</sub> 1086 statue of Julian at 972<sub>9</sub>

1086

Kalamaia 179<sub>9</sub>

Kalamis 1152 (?)

Kalchedon

*Cult*: Eileithyia 667 f.

Kallimachos the sculptor 1008 f.

Kalliope 100<sub>2</sub> (?) 100<sub>5</sub> (?)

Kallithyia 1085

Kallynteria 240 f.

Kamarina, coins of 853<sub>1</sub> 1146

Kameiros, gs. of Helios 986

Kanatha

*Cult*: Zeus *Μάρπας* ὁ *Κόπος* 555Kanathos 224<sub>2</sub>

Kanobos (Kanopos)

*Cult*: Kanopos 340*Myths*: helmsman of Menelaos 339<sub>2</sub>

340 priest of Kanopos outwits

Chaldaeans 339 f.

Kanobos, the helmsman of Menelaos

*Myth*: loved by Theonoe, d. of Proteus 349<sub>5</sub> 1193*Genealogy*: h. of Eumenonthis 349*Identified with* Osiris 349

Kanobos, the star 349

Kanopos

*Cult*: Kanobos (Kanopos) 340*Function*: the Osiris-Neilos of fresh water, opposed by Set-Typhon the salt water of the sea 344<sub>5</sub> (?)*Type*: terra-cotta strainer caulked with wax and filled with Nile-water 339<sub>2</sub> 340 344 1193

Kapisa

*Cult*: Zeus 545

Kappadokia, idols with one, two, and three heads from 1135

Kar, s. of Phoroneus 569<sub>2</sub>

Kara Adili

*Cults*: Helios 1071 Zeus 1071Karia, *akrópolis* of Megara 569<sub>2</sub>

Kariassai

*Cult*: Mytilene 167

Karkinos 1128

Karneia 1076

Karnos

*Function*: vine-god 1076*Type*: ram 1076

Karousa

*Cult*: Zeus *Δικαιοβουλος*, *Μέγας* 951

- Karpathos**  
*Cult:* Poseidon Περσμοι 18<sub>0</sub>
- Kartemnidēs** See Gortyna
- Karthaia**  
*Cult:* Apollon 269;  
 — coins of 271
- Karystos**  
*Cults:* Glaukos 126<sub>1</sub> (?) 127 (?) Zeus 126<sub>1</sub> 127  
 — coins of 1041
- Kasion, Mt, in Egypt**  
*Cult:* Zeus Κάσιος 1177
- Kasion, Mt, in Syria**  
*Cult:* Zeus Κάσιος 1177
- Kasmilos 1128**
- Kassandra**  
*Myth:* Aias, s. of Oileus 867 956
- Kassandreia**  
*Cults:* meteorite 884<sub>0</sub> 886 Zeus Ἀμμων 882<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 882<sub>2</sub> 884<sub>0</sub>
- Kastor and Polydeukes, bibliography of 1134**
- Kataibasia 1115**
- Kato Zakro, clay seal-impressions from 840<sub>0</sub> 845 1106**
- Katreus 77<sub>1</sub>**
- Kaulonia**  
*Cult:* Apollon 830
- Kavak**  
*Cults:* Theos Oibios 630<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ὀλβιος 628 ff.
- Kekrops**  
*Cult:* Athens 771  
*Priest:* Ιερεὺς 771<sub>1</sub> 1194  
*Myths:* brought by Athena to Megara 783 809 f. (?) buried in Kekropion at Athens 770 f.  
*Genealogy:* f. of Aglauros, Pandrosos, Herse 237 ff.  
*Etymology:* 251<sub>0</sub>  
*Type:* with snake tail 181 186 187 770 773 810<sub>1</sub>
- Keles 1083**
- Kelmis 922**
- Kenaion, Mt**  
*Cults:* St Constantine 1166 Zeus Κῆναιος (Κηνάιος) 1166
- Kentauros**  
*Genealogy:* s. of Ixion 75  
*Etymology:* 1072 (?)
- Kentriadai, family of clan Kerykes 585 597 603**
- Keos**  
*Cults:* Aristaios 267 f. St Artemidos 269 Artemis 269 Ktesylla Ἐκαέρπη 269<sub>1</sub> Seirios 266 Zeus Ἰκμαῖος 266 f. Aristaios 265 ff. Ktesylla 269<sub>1</sub>  
 — coins of 270
- Kephallenia**  
*Cult:* Zeus Αἰρήσιος 1171
- Kephalos**  
*Myths:* borne off to Syria by Heos (Eos) 246 Prokris 72
- Kephalos (cont.)**  
*Genealogy:* s. of Deioneus 72 s. of Hermes by Herse 246 s. of Hermes by Kreousa d. of Erechtheus 246<sub>12</sub> b. of Ainetos, Aktor, Phylakos 187<sub>1</sub> f. of Tithonos and gf. of Phaethon 246 f.  
*Types:* borne off by Hemera 1186 borne off by Heos 187 pursued by Heos 187<sub>1</sub> standing on coins of Kranioi (?) 1171
- Kephisodotos the younger 659<sub>0</sub>**
- Keraunos**  
*Cult:* Emesa 888<sub>4</sub>  
*Etymology:* 1114
- Kerberos**  
*Epithets:* latratu...trifauci 403<sub>1</sub> tergeminus 403<sub>1</sub> triceps 403<sub>1</sub> triformis 403<sub>1</sub> Τραχάρρηος 403<sub>1</sub> Τραχάρρηος 403<sub>1</sub> Τραχάρρηος 403<sub>1</sub> trilingui ore or ore trilingui 403<sub>1</sub> τριγλώσσος 403<sub>1</sub>  
*Etymology:* 411<sub>0</sub> 412<sub>0</sub>  
*Types:* on coins 408<sub>0</sub> on gems 408<sub>0</sub> ff. on vases 408<sub>0</sub> one-headed 403<sub>1</sub> two-headed 399 three-headed 402 f. 403<sub>1</sub> fifty-headed 403<sub>1</sub> hundred-headed 403<sub>1</sub>  
*Compared with Kleon 403<sub>1</sub>*  
 — as attribute of Aion 1180 in modern Greek folk-songs and folk-tales 412<sub>0</sub> f. oath by (?) 48<sub>0</sub> snake adjuncts of 410<sub>0</sub>
- Keres, as hounds 413<sub>0</sub>**
- Kerkyon 177<sub>0</sub>**
- Kerne**  
*Cult:* Gorgon 189<sub>1</sub>  
*Myth:* Eos and Tithonos 248
- Kerykes, priestly clan of Eleusis 104 585 589 597 f. 602 737**
- Kerykion, Mt 417<sub>0</sub>**
- Keryx, eponym of Kerykes**  
*Genealogy:* s. of Hermes by Aglauros 602 f. s. of Hermes by Pandrose (Pandrosos) 603
- Keteus, s. of Lykaon and f. of Megisto (= Kallisto) 484**
- Keyx 141**
- Khonds 446**
- Kibotoi 530 (?)**
- Kibotos** See Apameia in Phrygia
- Kinyras 817<sub>0</sub>**
- Kios or Prousiās**  
*Rite:* κάλαθος taken in procession 993
- Kirke**  
*Myth:* Odysseus 1073  
 — gloriolate of 1072
- Kithairon, Mt**  
*Cults:* Hera 1042 Hera Ἀηρώ Νυχία 1042 Leto Μυρία or Νυχία 1042 1065 Zeus 1042 1065  
*Epithet:* Ἐπὶ Μυρία 1042<sub>4</sub>  
*Myths:* Zeus consorts with Hera 1042 Zeus consorts with Leto 1042 1065
- Kithairon, the mountain-god 1042**



- Klaros  
Cult: Apollon 100
- Klazomenai  
Cult: Zeus Τροπαιοφόρος 1117  
— white-figured *sarcophagus* from 807
- Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* 1161 (further bibliography)
- Kleanthes of Corinth 671<sub>9</sub>
- Kledona 290 See also Klidhona
- Kleidemos 120
- Kleitodemos See Kleidemos
- Kleobis and Biton 1044 1083
- Kleonai  
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— official 'hail-guards' at 878 f.
- Klidhona 290 f. See also Kledona
- Klotho 80<sub>2(11)</sub> (?) 717
- Klymene (= Persephone?) 593<sub>0</sub>
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- Klytaimestra  
Myth: killed by Orestes 426<sub>4</sub>  
— dream of 239; phantom of 102
- Knossos  
Cult: natural stones 937<sub>4</sub>  
Rite: *λεπὸν γάμος* 1032 1065  
— coins of 1087
- Kokkygion, Mt  
Cult: Zeus 65  
Myth: Zeus the cuckoo 63
- Kokkyx, Mt 65
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Cults: Aphrodite 172 Genetyllides 172
- Koloë Limne See Gygaia Limne
- Kolonos  
Cult: Demeter Εἰχλοος 179<sub>0</sub>
- Kolotes 47<sub>0</sub>
- Komatas 246
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- Konissalos 1083
- Kopais, Lake, floating islands on 987 f.
- Koptos  
Cult: Min 882<sub>2</sub>
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Cults: Alexandria 913 Gaza 553  
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Epithets: 'Εροδία 279<sub>4</sub> Θεσμοφόρος 168  
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Priest: ἀγδοῦχος (?) 66<sub>2</sub>  
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 562<sub>2</sub>  
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between corn-stalk and poppy 899<sub>5</sub> 14 ff.  
Associated with Demeter 178<sub>0</sub> Demeter and Zeus Βουλεύς or Εἰβουλεύς 1124
- Koresia, coins of 271
- Koressos, Mt  
Cult: Zeus 323
- Korkyra  
Cults: Agreus 271<sub>3</sub> Apollon 'Αγκυεύς 1120 Apollon Πυθαῖος (?) 1120 Hera 'Ακρία 1120 Zeus Κάσιος 271<sub>2</sub> Zeus Μελιχίος 1184
- Korone  
Cult: Athena 782
- Koronis  
Myth: Poseidon 782<sub>4</sub>  
Metamorphosed into crow 782<sub>4</sub>
- Korybantes  
Myth: sprung from tears of Zeus 323<sub>2</sub>  
Functions: τῆς Πέας ὄραδοί 323<sub>2</sub> τροφεῖς καὶ φύλακες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Διὸς 323<sub>2</sub>  
Identified with Kouretes 323<sub>2</sub> op. 1070  
— sword dance of 1070
- Korystioi See Gortyna
- Kos  
Cults: Athena Μαχάρις 566<sub>2</sub> Dionysos Σκυλλίρας 413<sub>0</sub> Hera 'Αργεῖα 'Ελεῖα Βασιλεια 66<sub>2</sub> Hestia (Histia) 565 f.  
Twelve Gods 566<sub>2</sub> Zeus Μαχάρεϊς 566 f. Zeus Πολιεὺς 565  
Myth: Niayros 18<sub>0</sub>  
— Fountain of Bourina in 363 f.
- Kottos 120
- Kouretes  
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Myths: sprung from rain 323 478  
sprung from tears of Zeus 323  
deceive Kronos 937 953 receive infant Zeus from Rhea 931<sub>3</sub>  
Types: three male dancers clashing weapons 1127 f. three small male figures wreathed with flowers 1034<sub>1</sub> (?)  
Identified with Korybantes 323<sub>2</sub> op. 1070  
Associated with Kybele and Attia 1127 f.  
— sword-dance of 1070 1127
- Koze 334<sub>1</sub>
- Kranioi  
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— coins of 1171
- Krannon  
Rite: rain-charm 296 f. 316  
— coins of 297
- Krastonis  
Cult: Dionysos 1118
- Kritios 849<sub>2</sub>
- Kroisos sends gifts to Branchidai 520<sub>1</sub>  
sends gifts to Pytho 520 on the pyre 518 ff. taken by Apollon to the Hyperboreoi 520 has ominous dream 522
- Kronos  
Cults: Athens 169<sub>0</sub> Mt Kynthos (?) 1172  
Epithets: ἀγκυλομήτης 928; μέγας 928  
Rite: sacrifice of children by Kouretes 937  
Myths: mutilates Ouranos 481 928<sub>2</sub>  
consorts with Rhea 111<sub>1</sub> swallows his children by Rhea 744 928 1139  
swallows horse in place of Poseidon 929<sub>2</sub> swallows stone in place of Zeus 927 929 ff. deceived by Kouretes 937  
953 expulsion of infant Zeus 1187  
deposed by Zeus 966<sub>2</sub> . . .

## Kronos (cont.)

*Genealogy*: f. by Rhea of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Ennosigaios, Zeus 928 f. of Zeus 34

*Functions*: 'Minoan' sky-god 200 953  
'Minoan' storm-god 34 Saturday 938

*Etymology*: 1139 f.

*Attributes*: double axe 200 *drépanon* 481

*Types*: three-eyed (?) 933, white-haired king standing sceptre in hand 931 bearded head of fifth-century style 929, veiled 933, 935 1140 crowned 1140 *ara Capitolina* 933 f.

*Identified with Akmon* 927, *Akrisios* (?) 1187

*Associated with Rhea* 169, 745

*Compared with Balor* 933, (?) *Saturnus* 933, (?)

*Confused with Chronos* 746

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*Kroton*, coins of 714,

*Ktesilochoi* 82, 86,

*Ktesylla*

*Cult*: Keos 269,

*Epithet*: 'Εκατόρη 269,

*Myth*: 269,

*Kuzah* 334,

*Kyaneai* 975 f.

*Kybdasos* 1083

*Kybele*

*Cult*: Ephesos 1174

*Epithet*: 'Οπεία 1174

*Function*: mountain-mother of Asia Minor 834

*Etymology*: 916, (?)

*Attribute*: lions 834 1174

*Type*: black stone of Pessinous 893 f. 896 f.

*Associated with Attis* 1174 *Attis* and *Zeus* 1174

*In relation to Attis* 952 meteorites 893 ff. *Papas* 952

— See also *Mother of the gods*

*Kydon*, s. of *Apollon* 414,

*Kydonia*, coins of 413, f.

*Kyklopes*

*Function*: builders 1074

*Kyklops*

*Function*: death-god (?) 1075

*Kyknois* 177, 441,

*Kyllene*

*Cult*: *Hermes* 725,

*Kylon* and his men attached by thread to statue of *Athena* 896,

*Kynegetai* 1083

*Kynes* 1083 1156

*Kynosarges*

*Cults*: *Hebe* 724 f. *Herakles* 724

*Myth*: *Diomos* 594

*Kynthos*, Mt

*Cults*: *Athena Kynthia* 1172 *Herakles*

## Kynthos, Mt (cont.)

1172 *Kabeiroi* 1172 *Kronos* (?) 1172

*Rhea* (?) 1172 *Zeus Kynthios* 1172

*Zeus Mégistos* 1172

— cave-temple on, a pseudo-antiquity 1172 prehistoric settlement on 1172

## Kypros

*Cults*: *Hera* 'Ελεία 66, *Zeus* *Ελαριναστής* 652, 762, *Zeus* *Ελάρις* (?) 762, *Zeus* 'Ελαίοις (?) 762, *Zeus* *Εοελίδης* 762, *Zeus* *Κεράστης* (?) 652, *Zeus* *Σπλαγγνοτόμος* 652,

*Myths*: *Aphrodite* plants pomegranate

817, *Kinyras* makes *Melos* the Delian companion to *Adonis* and gives him *Pelia* to wife 817, *Melos* the Delian and his wife *Pelia* hang themselves in grief for death of *Adonis* 817, *Melos* the Delian transformed into *μηλιά* by *Aphrodite* and *Pelia* into *πέλεια* 817,

— coins of 899, face-urns from 193, 193 (b) terra-cotta statuette of priest wearing bull-mask from 1090

*Kypselos*, chest of 507

## Kyrene

*Cults*: *Akamantes* 115 *Athena* 535,

*Eumenides* 1188 *Hera* 535, (?)

*Tritopateres* 115 *Zeus* 535, *Zeus*

*Μεδιχίος* 1188

— fountain of *Apollon* at 353 rainfall at 353 *silphion* produced from shower of pitch at 353 f. statue of *Zeus* from 534 f.

## Kyrros

*Cult*: *Zeus* 794

— coins of 794

## Kyzikos

*Cult*: *Zeus* 'Αγρός 1071

— coins of 408, 1128 fate of, depends on preservation of meteorite 886,

## Labyadai, oaths of 585,

*Labyrinth*, on Babylonian tablets 1086 in

*Crete* 1086 in *Egypt* 1087 in south

*India* 1087 in *Malekula* 1087 at

*Taormina* 1087 at *Tiryns* (?) 1086 as

dance-theme 1087 as game of *Troy*

1087 as internal organs of man's

body (?) 1086 as map of soul's

journey 1087 as mosaic 1087 as

royal tomb or palace 1087 bibli-

ography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology

of 1141

*Lachesis* 717

*La Crau* 482

*Lactantius*, on the possibility of *Zeus* being superseded 739,

*Lado* 289,

*Ladon* 404,

*Laertes* in *Kilikia*, coin of 843,

*Lailaps* 73,

*Laios*, unavenged death of 426

*Lakedaimon*, f. of *Eurydike* 455



- Lakonike**  
*Cults:* Athena *Ἥρα* 776 Dionysos  
*Ἐπίφοι* 94<sub>2</sub>  
 Lakrateides, votive relief of 309<sub>4(3)</sub>  
 Lalan 679<sub>(3)</sub> See Laran  
 Lampadedromia 1012  
 Lampsakos  
*Cult:* Theos Olbios 1196  
 Lannuvium  
*Cult:* Iuno *Sospita* 837<sub>4</sub>  
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 Laodikela ad Libanum, sacred stone of  
*quasi*-human shape from 910<sub>5</sub> 911<sub>0</sub>  
 Laodikeia on the Lykos, coin of 515<sub>8</sub>  
 Laphystion, Mt, in Boiotia  
*Cult:* Zeus *Λαφύστιος* 525  
 Lapithai  
*Type:* fighting Centaur (?) 1142  
 Laran 679<sub>(3)</sub> 680<sub>(4)</sub>  
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*Epithet:* *Compitales* 119  
*Function:* ancestral spirits 119 ep. 1189  
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*Cults:* Enkhodia 279 Leukatheia 1080  
 Zeus (*Μελαχίος*) 279  
 Latiar 432<sub>1</sub>  
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 Latona 162<sub>5</sub>  
 La Turbie, further bibliography of 1117 f.  
 Laussel, horn-bearing woman of 1091  
 Lebedeia  
*Cults:* Daimon Milichios 1187 Hera  
*Βασίς* 61<sub>1</sub> Herkyna 1182 Zeus  
*Βασίλειος* 61<sub>1</sub> Zeus *Τροφώνιος* 1182  
 Zeus *Ἰέρως* 562 f.  
 — water of Lethe and water of  
 Mnemosyne at 422<sub>0</sub>  
 Leda  
*Myth:* consorts with Zeus 462<sub>1</sub> 467  
 469  
*Genealogy:* d. of Thestios s. of Agenor  
 s. of Pleuron 161<sub>1</sub>  
 — as pendant to Danaë 465  
 Leimones 1034<sub>1</sub> (?)  
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*Cult:* Tarku (?) 651<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth:* with Nymphs build temple of  
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*Cult:* Hephaistos 226 ff.  
*Myths:* Hephaistos' fall from heaven  
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 Poseidon *Ἐσώριος* 1042<sub>1</sub>  
*Priestess:* *Ἐρσφόρος* 167<sub>10</sub> 168 261  
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 Lethe, in mystic play at Ephesos 422<sub>0</sub>  
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*Cults:* Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi) 983 Mt  
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*Epithets:* *Μυρία* or *Νυρία* 1042 1042<sub>0</sub>  
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*Myths:* consorts with Zeus 744<sub>1(0)</sub> birth  
 of Apollon 984 f. hides Apollon in  
 Chembis 983 f.  
*Genealogy:* m. of Apollon and Artemis  
 by Zeus 744<sub>1(0)</sub>  
*Etymology:* 1042<sub>5</sub>  
*Attribute:* cock 1042<sub>0</sub>  
*Types:* birth of Athena 681 Praxi-  
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*Rite:* the Leucadian leap 136<sub>2</sub> 137<sub>0</sub>  
 1076  
*Myth:* Zeus 941<sub>1</sub>  
 Leukatheia 1080 See Leukothea  
 Leuke, island in Euxine sea 135 140  
 Leukippos, s. of Xanthios 590<sub>0</sub>  
 Leukothea (Leukatheia)  
*Cult:* Larissa in Thessaly 1080  
*Rite:* caldron of apotheosis 1104  
*Metamorphosed into* gull 783<sub>1</sub>  
 Libanos, Mt  
*Cults:* *baityloi* or *baitglia* 888 f.  
*Priests:* *Λιθοφόροι* 888<sub>4</sub>  
 — skins spread to catch honey-dew  
 on 500<sub>1</sub>  
 Liber  
*Cult:* Thrace 1118  
*Epithet:* *Pater* 1118  
 — assigned by Etruscans to seventh  
 region of sky 156<sub>4</sub>  
 Libyans, believe the sky to be holed 353  
 call he-goat *tityrus* 1080 fringed  
 goat-skins worn by women of 838 f.  
 Libye, the country  
*Cult:* Athena 128<sub>1</sub> 839  
*Myth:* Gorgones 847<sub>1</sub> 866  
 Liguria  
*Myth:* Herakles and rain of stones  
 483  
 Ligurians 483<sub>2</sub>  
 Liliith (?)  
*Cult:* Sumerians 832 ff. 1196

## Lilith(?) (cont.)

*Epithet:* Ardat Lili ('the slave-girl of the Night') 835

*Functions:* ancestress of Athena, half-bird half-goddess 834 ravisher of men by night 834

*Attributes:* coiled piece of rope (?) 1196 head-dress of bovine horns 832 1196 measuring rod and looped cord (?) 832 1196

*Types:* nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two goats 833 f. nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two lions and flanked by two owls 832 f.

## Lindos

*Cults:* Damateres and Zeus Δαμάτριος 1124 Hera Βαδύηα 61<sub>1</sub>

## Lindos, gs. of Helios 986

Linos 243<sub>5</sub>

## Lipara 110

## Lips 180

Lithobolia 612<sub>6</sub>

Lithuanian gods 108 (Perdoytus) 109<sub>1</sub> (Vėlės) 158 (Wejopatis)

## Livia

*Personates* Venus 1021

*Associated with* Zeus Ammon 1078 (?)

## Lokroi Epizephyrioi

*Cults:* Zeus 1097 Zeus Έλευθέριος 1097

## London

*Cult:* 'three Mother Goddesses' 1126

## Lordon 1083

## Lucian, satirises Zeus Ολύμπιος 966

## Lucifer

*Cult:* Elousa 915<sub>2</sub>

*Myth:* fallen from heaven 917

Lucina, delays birth of Hercules 663<sub>2</sub>Lucretius 50<sub>1</sub>Lucy, St 447<sub>6</sub>

## Ludi Capitolini 1141

## Luna

*Cult:* Aquae Sulis 863<sub>11</sub>

*Attribute:* crescent 41

## Lupercal 1104

## Lupercalia, bibliography of 1104

## Luperci 1104

## Lussoius 1117

## Luxovium in Germania Superior

*Cults:* Bricia 1117 Lussoius 1117

## Lydia

*Cult:* Baki(s) 1082

*Rite:* prenuptial free love 1026<sub>4</sub>

## Lydo-Phrygians

*Cult:* Έρμης Κυράρχα, Μυσοερί Καν-  
δαλα 283<sub>4</sub>

## Lykabettos 238

## Lykaion, Mt

*Cult:* Zeus Λύκαιος 267 1068

*Priest:* makes rain with oak-branch 267

— summit of 1164

## Lykaon 484 526

## Lykia, solar symbol of 1074

## Lykoreia

*Myth:* Deukalion 526<sub>7</sub> 966

## Lykosoura

*Cults:* Demeter 712 Despoina 712 f.

## Lykourgos, king of Arabia

*Myth:* attacks Ambrosia 1111 f.

*Attribute:* double axe 1111

## Lykourgos, king of Edonoi

*Myths:* attacks Dionysos and is blinded by Zeus 228<sub>2</sub> slays his s. Dryas 426<sub>4</sub>

## Lyktos, cave of Arkalochori near 1143

Rhea brings infant Zeus first to 928

## Lynkeus

*Myths:* presents Abas with shield dedicated by Danaos to Hera 356<sub>5</sub> saved by Hypermetra 356 369<sub>7</sub>

## Lyra 484 488 877

Lysimachides, votive relief of 309<sub>4(12)</sub>

Lysippos 187<sub>2</sub> 638<sub>6</sub> 704<sub>2</sub> (?) 706 957<sub>6</sub> 970 1019 f.

Lystra, altar 'to the Epēkoos and to... and to Hermes' 1071 bronze statuette of Hermes with caduceus and eagle 1071

## Lytos

*Cult:* Zeus 525

— later form of Lyktos 928<sub>9</sub>

## Ma 1134 as equivalent of Μήνηρ 1131

## Madagascar

*Myth:* origin of woman 98<sub>6(16)</sub>

## Maenads

*Attribute:* ivy-wreath 1133

*Types:* double bust 1133 grouped with kalathiskor-dancers 1006 Skopas 471

— artificial skins worn by 95<sub>9</sub>

## Mageiroi 585 See Daitroi

## Magna Mater

*Cults:* Heliopolis in Syria (?) 1093

Rome 896 f. 896<sub>1</sub>

## Magnesia ad Maeandrum

*Cult:* Zeus Σωσιπότης 239<sub>1</sub> 599<sub>(13)</sub> 604<sub>7</sub>

— coins of 211

## Maia

*Rite:* sacrifice of a pregnant sow 23

*Genealogy:* m. of Hermes 1131

## Maiden Castle

*Cults:* Iupiter Dolichenus (?) 1098 f.

Minerva 1098

Maionia, coins of 899<sub>5(16)</sub>

## Makedon 110

## Makedonia

*Cults:* Ares Θαύλος (?) or Θαύλος 282<sub>6</sub>

Iupiter Imperator (Zeus Οβριος) 148<sub>7</sub>

*Rite:* klidhona 290 f.

— coins of 853<sub>2</sub> 868 f. 957<sub>6</sub>

## Makris 1042

## Malachbelos

*Cults:* Palmyra 1159 Rome 1159

*Function:* solar 1159

## Maleantes 1083



Mallia, bronze double axe with incised lions from neighbourhood of 1143 f.  
 steatite seal-stone from 1196 stone  
 axe ending in forepart of panther  
 (not lioness) from 1192  
 Mallos in Kilikia, coins of 843<sub>0</sub>

Malta

*Cults*: Adonis 1031<sub>7</sub> (?) John the Baptist 1031<sub>7</sub> (?)

*Rite*: golden idol annually thrown by monk into field of bean-flowers 1031<sub>7</sub>

Manāf 1163

Manaphus

*Cult*: Carnuntum (?) 1163

Manāt 914<sub>1</sub>

Mandaeans 1179

Mādhāt 96<sub>0(2)</sub>

Manes, as divinised ancestors 440<sub>3</sub> lower part of *mundus* consecrated to 431 offerings to 441 stream up to join the living through *manalis lapis* 432

Mania, m. of the Lares

*Rite*: human sacrifice commuted 433<sub>0</sub>

Manichaeans 50<sub>1</sub>

Manliana

*Cult*: Abaddir Sanctus 937<sub>0</sub>

Manzan Gōrmō 1098

Mara, fight of Buddha with 1087

Marathon

*Cults*: Akamantes 115 Athena 'Ελλωρις 1092 Tritopatris 115

*Myth*: hiding-place of Athena pursued by Hephaistos 220<sub>8</sub> (?)

— commemorated by leaves on Athena's helmet 812 f.

Marduk 1135

Margaret, St. of Scotland 335<sub>0</sub>

Maristinus (?) 680<sub>(4)</sub>

Marna See Marnas

Marnas

*Cults*: Gaza 549 ff. Ostia (?) 556

*Rites*: human sacrifice 554 f. initiation 554

*Function*: rain 549 551 f.

*Etymology*: 550

*Types*: youthful hunter 550 556 f. youthful Zeus 557 mature Zeus 557 f.

*Identified with* Iupiter 555 f. Jehovah 558 (?) Zeus *Kretagenēs* 551 553<sub>1</sub> 555

*Associated with* Britomartis 550

— bronze seal of 549<sub>3</sub> (?)

Marneion at Gaza, description of 552 ff. comparison of, with Cretan Labyrinth 555

Mars

*Cult*: Rome 432 1021

*Epithet*: Ultor 1021

*Attribute*: Oscan helmet 1062<sub>(2)</sub>

*Type*: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>(1 f.)</sub>

*Associated with* Venus 442 f.

Marsyas

*Attributes*: cornu copiae 530 flutes 530

*Types*: contest with Apollon 659<sub>0</sub> 710 seated in grotto 530

Marsyas, river in Phrygia 531<sub>0</sub>

Mary Magdalen, St 335<sub>0</sub>

Mater

*Epithet*: Idaea 896<sub>0</sub> 896<sub>4</sub>

Mater deum

*Attributes*: pedum and cymbals 895<sub>2</sub>

Phrygian cap 895<sub>2</sub> pipes 895<sub>2</sub>

*Type*: black stone of Pessinus 894<sub>2</sub>

*Associated with* Navis Salvia 895<sub>2</sub> 896<sub>0</sub>

— altar of 895 f.

See also Meter Theon, Mother of the gods

Mayence, column of 1191

Mean 88<sub>0</sub> 92<sub>0</sub>

Médard, St 334<sub>2</sub>

Medousa 851<sub>0</sub> See Gorgon

Megalopolis

*Cults*: Aphrodite Μαχαρίτις 567<sub>0</sub> Athena

Μαχαρίτις 567<sub>0</sub> Demeter ἐν Ἑλει 66<sub>2</sub>

— coins of 712<sub>2</sub> Δακτύλου μῆμα near 1183

Megara

*Cults*: Athena Αἰθνα 782 f. 795 Demeter

569<sub>2</sub> Demeter Μαλοφόρος 1136

Eileithyia 668 Pandion ii 783<sub>1</sub> Zeus

'Αφείσιος 1165 Zeus Κένιος (not

Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκορίτη,

nor Χθόνιος) 569<sub>2</sub> 1165 Zeus 'Ολύμ-

πιος 1165 Zeus with the Muses

1165

*Myth*: Athena as gull brings Kekrops

783

*In relation to* Athens 783<sub>1</sub>

— tomb of Pandion ii at 783<sub>1</sub> wild-

olive as life-tree of 762

Megara, w. of Herakles 422

Megaros (Megareus), s. of Zeus 1165

Megisto (= Kallisto), d. of Keteus 484

Meidias, the potter 704<sub>1</sub> 1018 f.

Meilichos 1111

Melampus

*Myth*: taught by Cheiron 793

*Genealogy*: s. of Amythaon 793

*Etymology*: 1187

Melanippe 109<sub>4</sub>

Melanthos slays Xanthos 1105

Meliai

*Genealogy*: daughters of Gaia 481

Meligounis 110

Melite, the Attic deme

*Cult*: Demeter Ἀρσιδιώρα 202<sub>0</sub> (?)

— rock-cut cisterns at 363

Melite in Phthia

*Cults*: Artemis 283<sub>4</sub> Aspalis Ἀμειλήτη

Ἐκαέρη 283<sub>4</sub>

Meliteus 246

Melos, coins of 342<sub>0(1)</sub> 'Gigantomachy'-

amphora from 535<sub>0</sub> incised gem from

843<sub>0</sub> 1111 1138

Melos the Delian 817<sub>0</sub>

- Melqarth**  
*Cult:* Tyre 893  
*Identified with Herakles* 893
- Memnon** 259<sub>0</sub>
- Memphis** 78
- Men**  
*Cults:* Athens 308 f. Theira 992  
*Functions:* dew 309 moon 309  
*Assimilated to Hermes* 309  
*Associated with Helios* 1093 Pan 308 f.
- Menedemos of Eretria** 595
- Menelaos**  
*Myth:* Helene 78 f. 1179  
 — helmsman of 339<sub>2</sub> 340
- Menerva**  
*Type:* winged 679<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Menra, Menra
- Menoikeus, tomb of** 815<sub>0</sub>
- Menra** 679<sub>(2)</sub> 680<sub>(4)</sub> 839 See also Menerva, Menra
- Menra** 92<sub>0</sub> 1090 See also Menerva, Menra
- Mercurius**  
*Cult:* Numidia 1078  
*Attribute:* purse 1062<sub>2(11 f.)</sub>  
*Types:* in pediment of Domitian's Capitoline temple 707 in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(11 f.)</sub>  
*Identified with Wodan* 210 (?)  
*Associated with Vulcanus and Minerva* 209 f.
- Messene**  
*Cults:* Artemis 'Ekleia 66<sub>2</sub> Zeus 'Eridáras 1130 Zeus 'Iēwáras 525
- Mesthá or Amset** 345<sub>1</sub>
- Metapontum**  
*Cult:* Zeus 'Elaevépios 1097  
*Rite:* θήρος χοροὶν dedicated at Delphoi 307<sub>0</sub>  
 — coins of 307<sub>0</sub> 820<sub>2</sub>
- Meter**  
*Cult:* Athens 67<sub>0</sub>
- Meteres, nurses of Zeus in Crete** 225<sub>1</sub>
- Meter Theon**  
*Cult:* Phaistos 422<sub>0</sub>  
 See also Materdeum, Mother of the gods
- Metis**  
*Epithet:* πῶτερ γενέτις 745<sub>0</sub>  
*Myth:* swallowed by Zeus 125<sub>2</sub> 567<sub>0</sub> 727<sub>2</sub> 728 743 f. 744<sub>1(1)</sub>  
*Metamorphosed into fly* 744<sub>4</sub> (?) many shapes 744  
*Genealogy:* d. of Okeanos 125<sub>2</sub> d. of Okeanos by Tethys 743 m. of Athena by Zeus 744<sub>1(1)</sub> m. of Poros 746 f.  
*Compared with Thetis* 745
- Metis (masc.)**  
*Epithet:* πῶτος γενέτωρ 745<sub>4</sub>  
*Myth:* birth from cosmic egg ('the cloud') 727  
*Identified with Phanes* 745
- Michael, St**  
*Cult:* 1070  
*Supersedes Zeus* 277<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Midas, captures Silenos by ruse** 433<sub>0</sub>
- Miletos**  
*Cults:* Apollon Φάιος (= Φιλήσιος) 474<sub>0</sub>  
 Zeus Δουράνης Σωτήρ (?) 912 Zeus Νόσιος 7<sub>2</sub> 1111 Zeus Τελεσιουργός 1192  
*Festival:* Διδι βοῦς 564
- Miletos, s. of Apollon** 414<sub>0</sub>
- Milichie**  
*Cult:* Thespias 1187
- Milky Way**  
*Myths:* Hera 1098 Manzan Görmö 1098  
 — conceived as celestial road 946  
 1115 conceived as celestial tree 1192
- Mimas** 3<sub>0</sub>
- Min**  
*Cults:* Chemmis 884<sub>0</sub> Koptos 882<sub>2</sub>  
*Functions:* fertility 885<sub>0</sub> thunderbolt 882<sub>2</sub>  
*Attribute:* thunderbolt 884<sub>0</sub>  
*In relation to Amen-Rá* 885<sub>0</sub> the other bull-gods of Egypt 885<sub>0</sub>
- Mine** 1090
- Minerva**  
*Cults:* Maiden Castle 1098 Rome 856<sub>0</sub> 859  
*Epithets:* Medica 859 Tritonia 126<sub>0</sub>  
 Tritonis 126<sub>0</sub> Victrix 823 825<sub>0</sub> 825<sub>1</sub> (?)  
*Myth:* Myrmix 608<sub>2</sub>  
*Attributes:* cornu copiae 825<sub>2</sub> mural crown 825<sub>0</sub> owl 41  
*Types:* holding sprig of olive 695<sub>2</sub> in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(11 f.)</sub> winged 823 f.  
*Identified with Holda* (?) 210  
*Associated with Vulcanus and Mercurius* 209 f.  
*Compared with Sulis* 859  
 — five Minervas 842<sub>4</sub> 843<sub>0</sub> in Etruscan lightning-lore 156 specially honoured by Domitian 872
- Minos**  
*Epithets:* Ζηνός ἔχων σκήπτρον 1184 δλοφφρων 1103  
*Myths:* Poseidon 628<sub>2</sub> done to death in hot bath by Kokalos or his daughters 1104  
*Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Europe 627<sub>1</sub> 628<sub>0</sub> f. of Akakallis 414<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology:* 411<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Minotaur**  
*Epithet:* Ταῦρος Μινώιος 1090  
*Type:* leading two captive women (?) 1090  
*Compared with Ais* 840<sub>0</sub>  
 — bibliography of 1087 ff.
- Mithras**  
*Epithet:* βοεκότορ θεός 1194  
*Myth:* birth from rock 236<sub>2</sub>  
*Identified with Zeus* 945  
*Superseded by St George* (?) 1194
- Mitra** 1134 See Mithras
- Mneia, in mystic play at Ephesos** 422<sub>0</sub>
- Mnemosyne**  
*Cult:* Thespias 1070  
*Myth:* consorts with Zeus 744<sub>1(3)</sub>



## Mnemosyne (cont.)

*Genealogy*: m. of Muses by Zeus 744<sub>1(15)</sub>  
1189

— water of, as Orphic conception  
420<sub>9</sub> 421<sub>9</sub> water of, at Lebadeia 422<sub>9</sub>

## Mnevis

*Type*: bull-headed man with solar disk  
and plumes 1082

## Mochlos, vase from 193 (b)

Mochos 1179

## Moirai

*Cults*: Athens 721 Sparta 722<sub>3</sub>

*Epithet*: Δαίμονες 722<sub>3</sub>

*Genealogy*: daughters of Nyx 718<sub>1</sub>  
daughters of Zeus by Themis 744<sub>1(12)</sub>

*Types*: holding sceptres 1057 one seated  
and two standing figures 659 717  
three standing figures 715 f. 717<sub>2</sub>

*Assimilated to Aphrodite* 722

*Associated with Zeus Μοιραῖες* 721<sub>4</sub>

*In relation to Aphrodite* 722 Zeus 1057

— eldest of, identified with Aphrodite  
Οὐρανία 171<sub>9</sub>

## Moliones

*Type*: with two heads, four arms, four  
legs, one body 1177

## Molpis, sacrificed to Zeus Ὀμβρίας 525 f.

Momos 742<sub>4</sub>

## Moneta

*Etymology*: 23<sub>5</sub>

## Montezuma 475 f. 1194

## Morning Star See Heosphoros, Lucifer

## Moses, rock of 1118

Mosychlos 232<sub>3</sub> 234

## Mother of the gods

*Cults*: Hittites 916, Mt Ide in Phrygia  
(Mysia) 893 Pessinos 893 ff. Thebes  
in Boiotia 893

*Type*: meteorite 893 ff.

*Associated with Pan* 893

— *ktels* of (?) 918<sub>3</sub> star of 180 stone  
image of, falls from heaven 893

See also Mater deum, Meter Theon

## Mundilfori 1075

Munthuch 430<sub>9</sub> 439<sub>2</sub>

## Muses

*Cult*: Megara 1165

*Myths*: bury Orpheus 1115 feed

Komatas, in chest, on honey 246

Thamyris 488

*Genealogy*: daughters of Zeus by  
Mnemosyne 471<sub>1(15)</sub> 1189

*Associated with Zeus* 1165

## Mutina, floating island in territory of 1014

## Mykenai

*Cult*: Hera 1045

*Myth*: founded by Perseus 363 478<sub>2</sub>

*Etymology*: 478<sub>2</sub>

Mykenai, rectangular wells at 363 shaft-  
graves at 363 tholos-tombs at 363

'Treasury of Atreus' at 367<sub>5</sub>

## Mykene, early name of Mykenai 224

## Mykonos

*Cults*: Poseidon Τεμερίτης 179<sub>9</sub> Poseidon  
Φόκιος 179<sub>9</sub>

## Mylasa

*Cults*: Zeus Κρήσιος 1181 Zeus Ὀσρυῶνα

1140 Zeus Ὑψίστος 1162

*Festival*: Taurophonia 570 1110

Myra, coin of 899<sub>5(12)</sub>

## Myrike 1111

Myrmidones 608<sub>2</sub>

## Myrmix

*Metamorphosed into ant* 608<sub>2</sub>

## Myron 696 f. 850

## Myrtilos

*Myth*: Olympia 522<sub>11</sub>

## Mytilene

*Cults*: Etephilai 167 Helios 1184

Karissai 167 Theoi Akraioi 6 Zeus

1184

*Priestess*: Ἐρσόφορος 167 f.

— mysteries at 167

Naassene hymn 300<sub>8(1)</sub>

## Nabataioi

*Cults*: Adad 1097 Atargatis 1097 Dou-

sares 907 ff. sun 912<sub>4</sub> Tyche 1097

Zeus 1097

*Rites*: daily libations and incense  
offered to sun on roof 912<sub>4</sub>

Nagidos, coin of 763<sub>2</sub> (?)

## Nakoleia

*Cults*: Theoi Katachthonioi 1160 Zeus

Βροττων 1160 f. Zeus Βροττων και

Παρθ Θεός 1161 (?) Zeus Βροττων

Νεχτρον Παρθ 1161 (?)

— monuments of 1160 f.

## Nanuki 273

Nana 815<sub>9</sub>

## Nandi 1086

## Nannakos 527 f.

## Napata

*Cult*: Amen 882<sub>2</sub>

— *omphalos* from 882<sub>2</sub> 1077

## Narkissos

*Type*: with Eros at his shoulder 1022

Natalia, St 523<sub>4</sub>

## Naukratis

*Cults*: Hera 1187 Zeus Ἀνορθόρατος

1187

## Nauplios 868

## Navis Salvia

*Associated with Mater deum* 895<sub>2</sub> 890<sub>9</sub>

## Naxos

*Rite*: baby boy placed in bride's bed

on eve of wedding 1026<sub>4</sub>

— folk-tale from 257<sub>1</sub>

Neades or Neides 3<sub>9</sub>Neapolis in Makedonia, coins of 856<sub>9</sub>Neike 811<sub>1</sub>Neiloia 344<sub>4</sub>

## Neilos

*Cult*: Silailis 349

*Identified with Eridanos* 349 Okeanos

349 Osiris 344<sub>1</sub> Zeus 348 f. 521 1077

— called Aigyptos by Homer 358<sub>2</sub>  
extinguishes pyre of Habrokomes

524 rays of 1077

Neith 345<sub>1</sub> 839<sub>2</sub>

## Nemea

*Cult*: Zeus 1083 ff.

— bronze bull from 1085 Epimenides and the lion of 1085 excavations at 1083 ff.

## Nemesias

*Type*: in chariot drawn by two griffins 842<sub>2</sub>

## Nemesia

*Cults*: Inōnū in Phrygia 1146 Rhamnous 955;

*Types*: Aphroditesque 955, standing on man 1073

*In relation to Helios* 1073 Nemetona 1073 f.

## Nemetona 1073 f.

Nemi, double herms at 1132 f.

Neophytus, St 1112

Neo-Platonists 745 887 f. 913, 914<sub>0</sub>

Neoptolemos, tomb of, at Delphoi 938

## Nephelai

*Cults*: Orphists 70 296 Sokrates (?) 70

*Epithets*: μεγάλαι θεαί ἀνδράων ἀργαῖαι 69<sub>0</sub> οὐράνια 69<sub>0</sub> παμβασιλειαί 70<sub>1</sub>

*Rite*: burnt-offering of myrrh 70

*Genealogy*: daughters of Aithēr 70 879

— costume of 69, Orphic hymn to 70

See also Nephelē

## Nephelē

*Myths*: Athamas 73 f. Prokris 72

See also Nephelai

Nephelokokkygia 44 ff. 63

Nephtys 345<sub>1</sub>

## Neptunus

*Type*: in Pompeian painting of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2</sub>(1)

Nereids 129 132 ff. 163 237<sub>2</sub>

## Nereus

*Genealogy*: s. of Pontos 743<sub>0</sub>

*Function*: earthquakes 4<sub>0</sub>

## Nero

*Personates* Zeus 1117

## Nescania

*Cult*: Iupiter Pantheus 1129

New Grange 367<sub>2</sub>

New Year's Day 1067

## Nikai

*Type*: dancing 955

See also Nike, Victoria

Nikaia in Bithynia

*Cults*: Asklepios 1182 Zeus Akratēs 1184

— coins of 948 1182 1184

Nikaia in Liguria

*Cult*: Hercules Lapidarius 492<sub>1</sub>

## Nike

*Cult*: Athens 811 ff.

*Epithets*: Ἀπτερος 811 καλλιστομένης 811<sub>1</sub>

*Genealogy*: d. of Pallas s. of Lykaon and foster-st. of Athena 811<sub>1</sub> d. of Pallas the Titan by Styx 811<sub>1</sub> st. of Zelos, Kratos, Bia 811<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: abstraction from Athena Nike 811 abstraction from Zeus (?)

## Nike (cont.)

811<sub>1</sub> charioteer 76<sub>1</sub> Eileithyia 85<sub>0</sub>(2) handmaid to Athena Nike (?) 819<sub>1</sub>

*Etymology*: 321<sub>0</sub>(?)

*Attribute*: palm-branch 67 f. 1181

*Types*: drawing votes from urn 758

flanking Aphrodite 1016 ff. (?) half-

draped 1180 hovering 659 691<sub>2</sub>(?)

692 753 755 1040 sandal-binding

706<sub>0</sub> seated with pomegranate in

right hand and helmet in left 811

standing before seated Zeus 1051(5)

standing with oinochoē in right hand

and pomegranate in left 819<sub>1</sub> wing-

less 811

*In relation to Athena* 811

See also Nikai, Victoria

Nikephoria 794<sub>1</sub>

Niketeria 754<sub>1</sub>

Nikias, the painter 460 462 637<sub>2</sub> ff.

Nikias, the potter 1012

Nikomedeia, earthquake at 25 f. Elagabalus at 902 martyrs at 523<sub>4</sub>

Nikopolis in Moesia

*Cult*: Zeus Κεραυνος 1157

Nile See Neilos

Nin-khursag 1155

Ninnion, tablet of 722 723<sub>0</sub> 724<sub>0</sub>

Niobe 54<sub>2</sub>

Niobids 955

## Nisyros

*Cult*: Zeus Μεσσηνιος 1187

*Myth*: flung by Poseidon at Polybotes 14<sub>0</sub> 18<sub>0</sub>

Noah 293 528 f.

## Nomos

*Epithets*: ὁ πάρων βασιλεὺς 951<sub>2</sub> ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἐρεῶν νόμος 951<sub>2</sub>

*Function*: pōredros of Zeus 950

*Identified with Zeus* 951

Nonae Caprotinae 612<sub>0</sub>

Nonnos, on the Ambrosiai Petrai 978 f.

Notos, on 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens 130 sieves of 335 f. skin-bottles of 335 f.

See also Notus

## Notus

*Type*: winged figure streaming with water 327<sub>2</sub> 329<sub>0</sub> 333

— sent by Iupiter to cause deluge 107

See also Notos

Nucerina, coins of 342<sub>0</sub>(2)

Numa Pompilius, forbids the quenching of ashes with wine 515<sub>0</sub> founds altar

of Iupiter Ellicius 433<sub>0</sub> instructed in lightning-lore by Iupiter Ellicius 433<sub>0</sub>

cp. 788<sub>0</sub> law of, about man struck by lightning 1115 secures Faunus

and Martius Picens by ruse 433<sub>0</sub>

Numantia 1090 1179

## Numidia

*Cults*: Hercules 1078 Iupiter 1078

Mercurius 1078 Nutrix 1078

Saturnus 1078 Tellus 1078 Testi-

monius 1078 Venus 1078



## Nutrix

*Cult:* Numidia 1078

## Nymphogenes 129

## Nymphs

*Cults:* Athens 308 f. Gygaia Limne

988 f. Vari 261, 262<sub>0</sub> 263<sub>0</sub>

*Myth:* teach Aristaos 266

*Function:* whirlwinds 164

*Associated with Pan* 308 f.

— Danaides 357 Hyades 512 518

Okeaninai 743<sub>0</sub> Oreiades 164<sub>1</sub>

Archedamos of Thera *ὁ ἐνυμφόληπτος*

262<sub>0</sub> as nurses of Dionysos 85<sub>0</sub> (2) (?)

Nysa in Lydia, coins of 1114

Nysa Skythopolis, coin of 88<sub>0</sub>

## Nyx

*Genealogy:* m. of Moirai 718<sub>1</sub>

— advice of 950<sub>3</sub> in Orphic theogony

1177 ff.

## Oasis of Siwah

*Cult:* Zeus *Ἀμμων* 882<sub>2</sub>

— additions to bibliography of 1078

coin found in 1078 earliest reference

to Ammoneion in 1076 omphaloid

fetish of Ammoneion in 882<sub>2</sub>

## Oceanus

*Type:* recumbent with water flowing from urn 41

## Oche, Mt

*Myth:* union of Zeus with Hera 1041

— early corbelled building on 1041<sub>4</sub>

## Odessos in Thrace

*Cult:* Theos Megas 1129

— coins of 1129 *stélai* of *πύρις ἡρώς*

and *κοῦρος ἡρώς* from 1160

## Odin

*Attribute:* broad hat 1182

See also Wodan

## Odomantoi 522

## Odysseus

*Myths:* Aiolos Hippotades 106 Kirke 1073

*Function:* sun-god (?) 1075

Oigros 99<sub>2</sub>Oichalia 509<sub>2</sub>

## Oidipous

*Etymology:* 1187

## Oinanthe 183

## Okeaninai See Nymphs

## Okeanos

*Genealogy:* f. of Métis by Tethys 743

*Types:* large head 129 recumbent with

oar in hand and crab's claws on

head 980 ep. 1127 f.

*Identified with Neilos* 349

— garden of 1064<sub>4</sub> in Orphic theogony

1177 ff.

## Oknos

*Rite:* myth of rope represented at

Akanthos in Egypt 338<sub>2</sub>

*Myths:* ass and bundle of sticks 401<sub>1</sub>

ass and rope 338<sub>2</sub>

*Function:* 'Behinderungstraum' 401<sub>1</sub>

## Oknos (cont.)

*Compared with dream of king of Kosala*

401<sub>1</sub>

## Olba

*Cults:* Tyche 646<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ὀλβιος* 642<sub>1</sub>

*Priest:* ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας 642<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>0</sub>

*Myth:* cult founded by Alas s. of

Teukros 643<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 642<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>0</sub> *hierón* of,

renamed Diokaisareia 643<sub>0</sub> ruled by

priestly dynasts, most of them

named Teukros or Alas 643<sub>0</sub> temple

and *témenos* of Zeus *Ὀλβιος* at 642<sub>1</sub>

Tychaion at 646<sub>0</sub>

## Olbia

*Cults:* Achilles Ἰστροάρχη 654<sub>0</sub> Apollon

1136 Zeus *Ἀραβόπος* 655<sub>0</sub> Zeus

*Βασιλεὺς* 654<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 654<sub>0</sub>

Zeus *Ὀλβιος* 653<sub>1</sub> 1194 1196 Zeus

*Πολιάρχης* 654<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Σωτήρ* 654<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 655<sub>0</sub> 656<sub>0</sub> 853<sub>0</sub> 1194 1196

temple of Apollon at 1136

Old Slavonic deities 64<sub>0</sub>

## Olympia

*Cults:* Artemis Κορδάκα 1009 Athena

*Ἐργάνη* 967 Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 954 ff.

Zeus *Ὀρκιος* 1147

*Rite:* Φαίδρυραι sacrifice to Athena

*Ἐργάνη* 967

*Myth:* Myrtilos 522<sub>11</sub>

— coins of 958<sub>4</sub> 1156 east pediment

of temple of Zeus at 717<sub>2</sub> Philippeion

at 442<sub>1</sub> ship-like foundation of stones

at 1171

## Olympia, the festival at Daphne, near

Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191

## Olympos

*Etymology:* 1068

## Olympos, Mt, in Lykia, fire springing from

ground on 228

## Olympos, Mt, in Makedonia

*Cults:* St Elias 1167 Zeus 236 737<sub>2</sub>

*Myths:* Abbas Ali 1168 ff. Zeus visited

by Hera and Athena 34

— ascents of 1167 chapel of St Elias

on 1167 palace of Zeus on 515 ep.

680<sub>0</sub> song from 296 summit of 943

'Throne of Zeus' on 1167

Olympos, the Cretan teacher of Zeus 321<sub>0</sub>

1173

Olympos, the Mysian flute-player 321<sub>0</sub>

893

## Olynthos, 'Villa of Good Fortune' at 1073

Omphale, as a form of Kybele (?) 916<sub>1</sub>

## Opiconsivia 437

## Opis 1172

## Orchomenos in Boiotia

*Cults:* Hera *Τελεία* 949<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Τελειος*

949<sub>0</sub>

## Orcus, portal of 432 440 portal of, called

*manalis lapis* 432

## Oreides See Nymphs

## Orestes

*Myths:* cured of madness at Gythion

939 founds cult of Scythian Artemis

## Orestes (cont.)

in Patmos 985 f. kills Klytaimnestra 426<sub>4</sub>

— connected with holy stones 939 941<sub>1</sub>

## Oros, Mt

*Cult*: Zeus 'Ελλάδιος 1164

— bronze *hydria* from cistern on 1164 summit of 1164

## Orpheus

*Epithet*: *χρυσολόγος* 1115

*Myths*: Eurydike 99 slain by Thracian women 488 slain by a thunderbolt 1115 dismemberment 1104 buried by Muses 1115 oracular head 99 ff.

*Genealogy*: s. of Oinagros 99<sub>2</sub>

*Types*: playing *kithára* 419 oracular head 99 ff.

*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeniculus 488

*In relation to* Danaides 425<sub>6</sub>

— *addyton* of, in Lesbos 100 ascribes obscenity to the gods 102<sub>7</sub> lyre of, found by Lesbian women 101 on marriage of Earth and Sky 454

## Orphic Eros See Eros

## Orphic Zeus 745 cp. 746 1177 ff. See Zeus

## Orphists

*Cults*: Aither 879 Nephelai 70 f. 296

*Rites*: *εὐφοῖ ἐς γὰρ ἔπειτα* 1118 symbolic ladder 946

*Priests*: 'Ορφεοτελέσται 1068

— gold tablets of 395<sub>5</sub> 396 412<sub>2</sub> f. hymn to Zeus 950 pantheistic hymns 947 theogony 727 745 (cp. 746) 942 1177 ff. (the succession of Chaos, Okeanos, Nyx, Ouranos, Zeus) anthropogony 481 (?) *Διδικά* 921 *περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἡφαι* 102<sub>7</sub> Dike 949<sub>10</sub> 950<sub>1</sub> Nomos 950<sub>2</sub> call cosmic egg 'the cloud' 727 call moon 'Gorgónion' 805<sub>4</sub> 845 call rain 'the tears of Zeus' 322 hold that in Hades sinners are sunk in mud 398<sub>5</sub> Orphic conception of Underworld possibly illustrated in sixth-century fresco and thence copied on black-figured vases 399 f. Orphic traits in Underworld as depicted on 'Apulian' vases of s. iv b.c. 402<sub>1</sub> led by Orpheus to the Queen of the Underworld 419 influence of, traceable at Athens in s. vi b.c. 400<sub>1</sub> in Crete 1103

## Orthanes 1083

## Orthos or Orthos

*Myth*: Geryones 410<sub>6</sub>

*Genealogy*: offspring of Echidna 410<sub>6</sub>

*Function*: doublet of Kerberos 410<sub>6</sub> 412<sub>6</sub>

*Types*: one-headed, two-headed, three-headed 410<sub>6</sub>

Oschophoria 241<sub>6</sub>

## Osiris

*Cult*: Alexandria 346 ff.

*Festival*: finding of Osiris 345<sub>6</sub>

## Osiris (cont.)

*Rites*: dirge called *Μαρεῖος* 305<sub>6</sub> Osiris-beds 305<sub>6</sub>

*Functions*: god of the Nile 344 grains of corn 302<sub>6(6)</sub>

*Types*: 'Canopus' 346 ff. 1193 dead body with corn springing from it 305<sub>6(7)</sub> figure made of Nile-mud and filled with corn-grains 305<sub>6</sub> hollow form filled with Nile-silt, planted with corn, and wrapped up like a mummy 305<sub>6</sub> mummy with corn springing from it 305<sub>6(7)</sub> profile contour filled in with earth, barley-grains, etc. 305<sub>6</sub>

*Identified with* Aion 914<sub>6</sub> dead man 344 395 Kanobos, the helmsman of Menelaos 349 the Nile 344<sub>1</sub>

*Assimilated to* wheat or barley germinating 302<sub>6(2)</sub>

— children of 345<sub>1</sub> king becomes 1131 Nile-water as seed of 344

## Ossa, Mt

*Cult*: St Elias 1167

— views of 1167

## Ostanes 1147

## Ostia

*Cult*: Marnas (?) 556

— tomb-painting of Kronos and Rhea found near 934 f. winged Minerva from 823 ff.

## Othreys 246

Oulomos 914<sub>6</sub>

## Oupis

*Cult*: Sparta 189<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* Artemis 189<sub>1</sub>

## Ouranos

*Epithet*: *ἀσπερίους* 928

*Myths*: birth of Aphrodite 274 376<sub>2</sub> invents *βαίτιγία* 887 mutilated by Kronos 481 928<sub>3</sub>

*Genealogy*: s. of Akmon 927 f. by his st. Ge of four sons—Elos called Kronos, Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and Atlas 887

*Identified with* Akmon 927<sub>4</sub>

*Associated with* Gaia 419<sub>2</sub> 420<sub>6</sub> 422<sub>6</sub> 477<sub>3</sub> 744 745 928

— blood of, produces Phaeacians 481 blood-drops of, received by Gaia 481 in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.

## Onsoōs 983

## Oxyrhynchite nome

*Cult*: Athena 190<sub>6</sub>

## Oxyrhynchos

*Cult*: Zeus 'Αμυνεὺς 1076

## Pa as equivalent of Παῖς 1131

## Palaimon 129 135

## Palaiopolis in Korkyra

*Cult*: Artemis 844<sub>10</sub>

## Palamaon

*Myth*: cleaves head of Zeus 661

*Function*: form of Hephaistos 191<sub>6</sub>

*Compared with* Palamedes 191<sub>6</sub>



- Palamedes 191<sub>0</sub>  
 Pales (masc.)  
   *Epithet:* Secundanus 156<sub>1</sub>  
 Palestine, belief about snakes current in 772<sub>7</sub>  
 Palladion 573, 609 1006  
 Pallas  
   *Etymology:* 746 (?)  
 Pallas the Giant  
   *Myths:* attempts to violate Athena 842 flayed by Athena, who wears his skin and wings 842  
   *Genealogy:* f. of Athena by Titanis d. of Okeanos 842  
 Pallas the Titan  
   *Genealogy:* f. by Styx of Zelos, Nike (Neike?), Kratos, Bia 811<sub>1</sub>  
 Pallas, s. of Lykaon  
   *Genealogy:* f. of Nike and foster-f. of Athena 811<sub>1</sub>  
 Pallas, king of Athens 186  
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 Pallene, d. of Sithon 522 f.  
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   *Cults:* Adad 1093 Aglibol 1158 f. Atargatis 1093 Bel 1158 f. Beltis (?) 1159 Iaribol 1158 f. Malaahbelos 1159 Sol 1112 Zeus Bēlos 1112  
   — excavations at 1158 f.  
 Pamphylia, Hittite occupation of 112<sub>0</sub>  
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   *Cults:* Athens 308 f. Mt Parnes 253<sub>0</sub> Thebes in Boiotia 893 Vari 261<sub>7</sub> 265<sub>0</sub>  
   *Epithets:* Ἀγραιὸς 237<sub>2</sub> Ζεὺς ὁ κεραυνῆς 652<sub>0</sub> Μέγας 1131 δρεϊώτης 94<sub>2</sub>  
   *Myths:* Olympos the flute-player 893 Syrinx 1012  
   *Etymology:* 1131  
   *Attribute:* pipes 640<sub>0</sub>  
   *Types:* assaulting Aphrodite 1020 glorified goat 1131 recumbent 714  
   *Associated with Men* 308 f. Mother of the gods 893 Nymphs 253<sub>0</sub> 308 f.  
   *In relation to Aigipan* 620<sub>0</sub> (?) Zan 1131  
   — death of 1131 (bibliography)  
 Panagia  
   *Epithets:* ἡ Ἀθηναία 189<sub>1</sub> 588<sub>1</sub> ἡ Ἀθηνῶνισσα 588<sub>1</sub> Γοργοεπήκοος 189<sub>1</sub> 588 Μήτηρ Θεοῦ 189<sub>1</sub> 588<sub>1</sub>  
 Panainos, paintings at Olympia by 956  
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   *Cult:* Zeus Πανάμαρος 1066  
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   *Myth:* golden hound 1110  
 Pandia 320<sub>4</sub>  
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   *Etymology:* 320<sub>4</sub> (?)  
 Pandion ii, s. of Kekrops ii  
   *Cult:* Megara 783<sub>1</sub>  
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   *Cult:* Athens 243 f.  
   *Rite:* ἐπιβοῶν or sacrifice of sheep for Pandrosos in addition to cow for Athena 244  
   *Priestess:* wears ποδῶνυχον or ποδῶνυχον, the garment of Pandrosos herself 245 wears small himation called πορδέων and passes the same to man slaying the victim 245  
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   *Type:* birth of Erichthonios 186  
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 Paphos  
   *Cult:* Aphrodite 238<sub>1</sub> 1112 Aphrodite Παφία 1134 Venus 646<sub>0</sub>  
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   *Genealogy:* f. of soma 335<sub>2</sub>  
   *Function:* rain 335<sub>2</sub>  
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   *Cults:* Pan and the Nymphs 253<sub>0</sub> Zeus Ἀρήμεος 526 Zeus Ὀμβριος 526  
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- Parthenon (*cont.*)  
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- Parthenos, personification of Mt Par-  
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- Pasikrateia  
*Cult:* Selinous 1188  
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- Pasiphae  
*Myths:* wooden cow 1092 Zeus 615<sub>2</sub>
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*Epithets:* Αἰγέριος Ἡρακλῆς 158<sub>7</sub>  
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*Function:* apotropaion on land or sea  
 158<sub>7</sub>  
*Etymology:* 158<sub>7</sub>  
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- Patmos  
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 — as a floating island 985 f.
- Paul, St and St Thekla 523 f. quotes  
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 Epimenides (?) 954
- Pautalia  
*Cults:* Asklepios 1182 Glykon (?) 1182  
 — coins of 1182
- Pedachthot  
*Rite:* sacrifice of fawn 1134
- Pedasa  
*Cult:* Zeus 569  
*Rite:* procession of goat leading priest  
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- Pegasos  
*Function:* bearer of thunder and light-  
 ning for Zeus (?) 1177
- Peion, Mt 323 1174
- Peiraeus  
*Cults:* Agdistis 1192 Akeso 1083  
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*Myth:* Theseus 956  
*Type:* guarded by Dike 402
- Peitho  
*Type:* crowning Aphrodite 957 f.
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*Cults:* Athena 226 Demeter (?) 191<sub>0</sub>  
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 — in Lemnos slay their Athenian  
 concubines 360<sub>1</sub>  
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- Pelasgos, tomb of 566<sub>2</sub>
- Peleiades 1082
- Peleus  
*Myth:* seizes Thetis 1019  
 — spear of 209<sub>2</sub> sword of 209<sub>1</sub>
- Peliades 1122
- Pelias  
*Myth:* boiled by his daughters 1104
- Pellion, Mt  
*Cults:* Zeus Ἀκραῖος 1043<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ἀκραῖος  
 31 f. 317 1043<sub>2</sub> 1161  
*Rite:* procession of men clad in fleeces  
 to sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος 31 f.  
 — cave of Cheiron on 1043 discoveries  
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- Pella  
*Cult:* Athena Ἀλεξάνδρου 869  
 — coins of 869 f.
- Pellana in Achaia  
*Cult:* (Zeus) Μελλίχιος 1187  
 — bronze snakes from 1187
- Pellene  
*Cult:* Athena 238<sub>3</sub>
- Pelops  
*Myth:* ivory shoullder 1124  
*Genealogy:* s. of Tantalos 417<sub>0</sub>  
 — perhaps a Hittite vassal 417<sub>0</sub>
- Pelousion  
*Cult:* Zeus Κάσιος 817<sub>0</sub>
- Penelope, marriage-test of 1147
- Penia  
*Genealogy:* m. of Eros by Poros s. of  
 Metis 746 f.  
*Compared with* Ἐλγῇ 747<sub>2</sub>
- Penteskuphia, votive pinakes from 672<sub>0</sub>
- Penthesilea  
*Myth:* Achilles 956
- Pentheus  
*Myth:* recalled to life (?) 1124
- Perchta 447<sub>0</sub>
- Perdoytus  
*Function:* wind 108  
*Etymology:* 108<sub>2</sub>
- Perennius, M. 1006
- Pergamon  
*Cults:* Athena Νικήφορος 794 Augustus  
 1125 1191 Roma 1191 Zeus and  
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*Festival:* Nikephoria 794<sub>1</sub>  
 — bronze bull of 1102 coins of 794  
 899<sub>2</sub> great altar at 56<sub>0</sub> 534 small  
 inner frieze of great altar at 823<sub>2</sub>
- Perikles  
*Personates* Zeus 32<sub>2</sub> 66<sub>4</sub>
- Periklymenos  
*Myth:* slain as a fly by Herakles 744<sub>1</sub>
- Perillos 1102
- Perinthos, coins of 948
- Periphas 236
- Perperia, in the rain-magic of the Balkans  
 285 variations of her name 285 ff.  
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- Perpetua, St 1119
- Persephone  
*Cults:* Agra 722 Eleusis 967<sub>1</sub>



## Persephone (cont.)

*Epithets:* Κλυμένη (?) 593<sub>8</sub> Χειρογνώα 980<sup>(1)</sup> 663<sub>2</sub>

*Priests:* ἱεροφάντης 724<sub>0</sub> ἱεροφάντης 395<sub>2</sub> μυσταγωγός 395<sub>2</sub> Φαίδωνος 967<sub>1</sub>

*Priestess:* κερκφόρος 724<sub>0</sub>

*Myth:* eats one or more pomegranate-pips of Hades 815<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy:* d. of Zeus by Demeter 744<sub>1</sub> (4) m. by Zeus of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) 120

*Etymology:* 1127

*Types:* borne off in chariot by Hades 991 holding pomegranate 815<sub>0</sub> 816<sub>0</sub> seated with corn-ears in right hand and sceptre in left 713 seated with Hades 425 standing with cross-topped torch 402

*Associated with Demeter* 712

*Superseded by St Agatha* 447<sub>4</sub>

— marriage with 395

See also Proserpina

## Perseus

*Myths:* expelled in infancy by Akrisios 1187 Gorgon 843 846<sub>8</sub> founds Mykenai 363 478<sub>2</sub>

*Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Danaë 455

*Attribute:* hárpē 843

*Types:* dangling Gorgon's head 849 f. 996 with winged cap or helmet 706<sub>2</sub>

## Persia

*Cults:* Anahita 916<sub>1</sub> rivers 907<sub>8</sub> sky (?) 1114 Zervan 914<sub>0</sub>

## Pessinous

*Cult:* Mother of the gods 893 ff.

Petelia, gold tablet from 419<sub>3</sub> f. 422<sub>0</sub>

## Petra

*Cults:* Chaabou (?) 914<sub>1</sub> Chaamou 914 Dousares 914 ff.

*Rite:* birth of Chaamou's s. Dousares 914 ff.

— coin of 909

## Petrachos, Mt

*Myth:* stone swallowed by Kronos 929

Peuketios 364<sub>2</sub>Pfol 163<sub>2</sub>

## Phaethon 247 1136

## Phaiaikia

*Myths:* called Δπερώνη after the δπερώων of Kronos 481 Phaeacians sprung from blood of Ouranos 481

## Phaidros, stage of, at Athens 1107

## Phaistos

*Cults:* Leto Φυρίη 1042<sub>0</sub> Meter Theon 422<sub>0</sub> Zeus Φελχάρος 1043<sub>0</sub>

*Etymology:* 200<sub>1</sub> (?)

— coins of 617<sub>1</sub> (2)

Phalanthos, Mt 321<sub>0</sub> (?)

## Phaleron

*Cult:* Androgeos 158

## Phanes

*Myths:* sprung from cosmic egg 745 f. swallowed by Zeus 745 942

*Genealogy:* parent and h. of Nyx 745

## Phanes (cont.)

f. by Nyx of Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 745

*Type:* androgynous 745

*Identified with Metis (masc.)* 745

Phannel 97<sup>(1)</sup>Phaon 136<sub>2</sub> 137<sub>4</sub>

## Pharsalos

*Cult:* Zeus Θαύλιος 281 f.

## Phaselis, coins of 871

*Pheidias* 47<sub>0</sub> 169<sub>0</sub> 190 216<sub>1</sub> 216<sub>2</sub> 225<sub>1</sub> 238<sub>2</sub> 535<sub>0</sub> (?) 646<sub>0</sub> (?) 662 688 698 698<sub>8</sub> 773 773<sub>8</sub> 827 858 (?) 862 933 954 ff. 1153 career of 954 958 959<sub>0</sub> 1155 (?) 1155 (bibliography)

*Pheimios, slays Hyperochos* 1105

*Pheimonoe* 592<sub>2</sub>

## Pherai

*Cults:* Enhodia 279 f. Hekate 272<sub>2</sub>

Hypereia 272<sub>2</sub> Zeus Ἀφριος 271 ff.

Zeus Θαύλιος 277 ff.

— bronze amulet from 1075 (?) coin of 280

*Pherekydes of Athens (or Leros)* 72 508 1064

*Pherekydes of Syros* 974

*Phersephoneia* 321<sub>0</sub>

*Phikion, Mt* 506

*Philadelphieia in Lydia*

*Cult:* Zeus Ταργυννός Ἐπήκοος 652<sub>0</sub>

*Philetaireia* 593<sub>2</sub>

*Philip of Macedon, dreams about birth of Alexander* 957<sub>0</sub>

## Philippi

*Cult:* Bendis 1134

## Philistines

*In relation to Crete* 551<sub>0</sub>

## Philoktetes

*Myths:* fetched by Greeks from Lemnos at advice of Helenos 921 healed by Lemnian earth 231

*In relation to Hephaistos* 190<sub>2</sub>

*Philomela* 1147

## Philon 728

*Phineus, warns Argonauts of Kyaneai* 976

*Phix* 506<sub>2</sub> See also Sphinx

## Phlious

*Cult:* (Hebe) Δία 184<sub>2</sub>

## Phlyeis

*Cults:* Demeter Ἀρησιδώρα 202<sub>0</sub> (Ge) Μεγάλη Θεός 202<sub>0</sub> Kore Πρωτογενή 202<sub>0</sub>

## Phoibos

*Etymology:* 1137 (?)

## Phoinike

*Cults:* Elioun 762<sub>2</sub> Kabeiros 1001

Oulomos 914<sub>0</sub> Pataikoi 158

*Myth:* Aion s. of Baaut and Kolpias 914<sub>0</sub>

## Phoinix

*Genealogy:* f. of Europe 627<sub>1</sub>

## Phokis

*Cults:* Hera Βασίλεια 61, Zeus Βασίλειος 61<sub>1</sub>

- Phorbas 177<sub>a</sub>  
 Phrasios 653<sub>a</sub>  
 Phrixos  
*Myths*: builds sanctuary on Bosphoros  
 148 dedicates altar to Twelve Gods  
 148 golden ram 1080  
*Genealogy*: s. of Nephele by Athamas  
 s. of Aiolos 148  
 Phronia 77<sub>4</sub>  
 Phrygia  
*Cults*: Diounais 1125 f. Zeus 1125  
 Zeus Βέρριος or Βερρεός 1162 Zeus  
 Διος 1125 Zeus Μαστός 1112 Zeus  
 Φάριος 1126  
*Myths*: Agdistis 1174 flood 527 ff.  
 Nannakos 527 f. Priasos 531  
 Phryne, bathes at Eleusis 297  
 Phrynos 669 733  
 Phthia 281; (?)  
 Physadeia 357  
 Pidzu Pennu, rain-god of Khonds 446  
 Pi-lo-aho-lo, Mt 545  
 Pindar, on Delos as a floating island 984  
 on Rhodes as a floating island 986  
 sees stone image fall from heaven  
 893  
 Pi-Ramses  
*Cult*: Harun 1076  
 Pisces 324  
 Pisidia  
*Cults*: Hera Βασίλις 61, Zeus Καλα-  
 κάγδιος 1162  
 Pisthetaios 44 ff.  
*Personae* Zeus 21 59 f.  
 — as bridegroom of Basileia 57 ff.  
 Pitane, coins of 342<sub>(12)</sub>  
 Planktai 975 f. 983 987  
 Plataiai  
*Cults*: Athena 'Απειά 773<sub>a</sub> Hera  
 Νυμφευμένη 1042<sub>a</sub> Hera Τελεία 932  
 1042<sub>a</sub>  
 Platon 746 f. 960 f. 974 bees settle on lips  
 of infant 265<sub>a</sub>  
 Plav, floating fen in Delta of Danube 1015  
 Plegades 976 See Kyaneai  
 Pleiades 437  
 Pleuron, eponym  
*Cult*: Sparta 161  
*Etymology*: 161<sub>3</sub>  
 Pleuron in Aitolia 161  
 Ploades 987 f.  
 Plotai, name of Islands of Aiolos 987  
 name of Strophades 987  
 Plouton  
*Etymology*: 746 (?)  
*Attribute*: cornu copiae 1053<sub>1</sub> (1 f.)  
 See also Pluto  
 Ploutos  
*Genealogy*: s. of Iasion by Demeter  
 75 f.  
 — birth of 188, springs of 500  
 Plutarch, repeatedly quotes Pindar's  
 description of Zeus 964<sub>2</sub>  
 Pluto, jaws of 432<sub>1</sub> 440  
 See also Plouton  
 Plynteria 224<sub>2</sub> 240 f. 749  
 Pneuma 983  
 Poeni  
*Cult*: Abaddir 937<sub>a</sub>  
 Pogla, coins of 899<sub>2</sub>  
 Polion in Lesbos 417<sub>a</sub>  
 Polos at Tanagra 417<sub>a</sub>  
 Polyarches 77<sub>4</sub>  
 Polybotes 14<sub>a</sub>  
 Polydeukes and Kastor (bibliography) 1134  
 Polydora 357  
 Polygnotos, the painter 397 f. 712<sub>4</sub> 1067  
 Polykleitos 65 816<sub>a</sub> 964 965<sub>2</sub>  
 Polyktor 498<sub>a</sub>  
 Polymele 110  
 Polyneikes 563 815<sub>a</sub>  
 Polyphepos  
*Type*: driven by infant Eros 1020 1023  
 Pompeii  
*Cults*: Isis 641<sub>4</sub> Jupiter 29<sub>4</sub> Zeus  
 Μεταχίος 1189  
 — fresco from 'House of the Tragic  
 Poet' at 1033 f. gold armlets from  
 765<sub>1</sub> *lararia* of 773<sub>2</sub> paintings of  
 Twelve Gods on outer walls of  
 houses at 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 f.) supposed  
 representation of earthquake at 29<sub>4</sub>  
 Villa Iam at 1118  
 Pontos, f. of Nereus 743<sub>4</sub>  
 Populonia, coins of 856<sub>a</sub>  
 Poros  
*Genealogy*: s. of Metis and f. of Eros  
 by Penia 746  
*Identified with* Chaos 747<sub>1</sub>  
*Associated with* Aisa 747<sub>1</sub>  
 Porphyron 55<sub>2</sub>  
*Myths*: founds sanctuary of (Aphrodite)  
 Ούραία at Athmonia or Athmonon  
 55<sub>2</sub> Gigantomachy 55<sub>2</sub> 534 1148  
 makes love to Hera 55<sub>2</sub> slain by  
 thunderbolt of Zeus and bow of  
 Herakles 55<sub>2</sub>  
*Genealogy*: s. or b. of Athamas 55<sub>2</sub>  
*Etymology*: 55<sub>2</sub>  
 Porphyrios, St 551 ff.  
 Porphyris 14<sub>a</sub>  
 Poseidon  
*Cults*: Apameia in Phrygia 22 Athens  
 9<sub>1</sub> 11<sub>2</sub> 758 Atlantis 283<sub>4</sub> 1184 Boiotia  
 736<sub>2</sub> Ephesos 599<sub>(12)</sub> Erechtheion  
 11<sub>2</sub> 758 Gythion 11<sub>2</sub> Karpathos 18<sub>a</sub>  
 Lesbos 1042<sub>1</sub> Mykonos 179<sub>a</sub> Mytilene  
 6 Cape Tainaros 21 23<sub>2</sub> Thera 13<sub>1</sub>  
 Therapne 11<sub>1</sub> Tralleis 22  
*Epithets*: Αλόλος 107<sub>2</sub> (?) Γαίημος (?) 11<sub>a</sub>  
 γαίημος 10<sub>4</sub> θαλάσσιος 9<sub>1</sub> Ἐλάτης 9<sub>1</sub>  
 ἐλαχίχθων 9<sub>2</sub> Ἐλικώνιος 283<sub>4</sub> Ἐλύμ-  
 νιος 1042<sub>1</sub> Ἐλάνιος 1042<sub>1</sub> Ἐννοσίγαιος  
 531 ἑννοσίγαιος 7<sub>2</sub> Ἐννοσίδα 8<sub>1</sub>  
 ἐνοσίχθων 7<sub>2</sub> Ἐρεχθεύς 12<sub>3</sub> 758 f.  
 Ἐρεχθεύς Γαίηχος 12<sub>3</sub> Εὐρυμύδων (?)  
 675<sub>1</sub> Ἰμψιος 9<sub>1</sub> Ἰππηγέτης 9<sub>1</sub> Ἰππιος  
 9<sub>1</sub> 107<sub>2</sub> 217<sub>a</sub> (?) κυνηχίχθων 10<sub>1</sub>  
 Λυταίος 10<sub>1</sub> ὁ παντομίδων 1064  
 Περρῆμος 18<sub>a</sub> σεισίχθων 10<sub>1</sub> Τερμινῆς



## Poseidon (cont.)

179<sub>0</sub> τινδάρω γαίῃ 10<sub>2</sub> Φοῖβος  
585<sub>2</sub> Φόβος 179<sub>0</sub> Φοῖβος 527 562

*Rites*: sacrifice of bull 'to Poseidon and to Erechtheus' 759 sacrifice of *εὐορχα μῆλα* 396<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of white male lamb 179<sub>0</sub> sacrifice of white ram 179<sub>0</sub>

*Priest*: *ἱερεὺς* 12<sub>3</sub>

*Myths*: contest with Athena about Athens 750 ff. contest with Athena about Trozen 751<sub>1</sub> contest with Hera 751<sub>1</sub> contest with Zeus 751<sub>1</sub> Ephialtes 18<sub>0</sub> floods Thriasian plain 751 gives cup to Teleboos 507<sub>2</sub> Koronis 782<sub>4</sub> Minos 628<sub>2</sub> Polybotes 14<sub>0</sub> produces sea at Athens 750 f. produces springs at Lerna 361 punishes Inachos with drought 355 f. saves Anymone from Satyr 356 shows Anymone the Lernaean springs 361 369 Tempe 10<sub>1</sub> woos Thetis 741 f.

*Genealogy*: f. of Aloeus by Kanake 4<sub>0</sub> f. of Athena by lake Tritonis 128<sub>1</sub> f. of Eryx by Aphrodite 176<sub>0</sub> f. of Sinis 10<sub>1</sub>

*Functions*: originally a specialised form of Zeus 20<sub>1</sub> 736<sub>2</sub> 1140 1153 originally a lightning-god with lightning-fork, later a sea-god with fishing-spear 736 agriculture 527 earthquakes 5 ff. 943 sea 726<sub>0</sub> wind astern 162

*Etymology*: 736<sub>2</sub> 1140

*Attributes*: *χίμαιρα* 1153 dolphin 1060 two dolphins 753 lightning-fork 20 867 trident 10 tunny 671<sub>0</sub>

*Types*: bearing the island Nisyros or Porphyria 14<sub>0</sub> bronze statue from Artemision (?) 1151 ff. energetic 697 exhibiting wave 755 (?) 755<sub>2</sub> (?) holding *ἀφλάστον* 755<sub>2</sub> hurling trident 1153 in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. in the guise of Zeus 1153 leaning on trident 1153 riding on dolphin 627<sub>0</sub> 831 seated on rock 581<sub>0</sub> standing with dolphin and trident 12<sub>0</sub> striking with trident 1153 terra-cotta relief at Munich 1152 with eyes in garnet 217<sub>0</sub> with glaucous eyes 216 with horse's head in hand 217<sub>0</sub>

*Identified with Erechtheus* 12<sub>3</sub> 737 758 f.

*Associated with Amphitrite* 681 958 Aphrodite 675<sub>2</sub> 699 f. Erechtheus 758 Zeus and Hades 6 1157 (?)

*In relation to duck* 52<sub>2</sub>

*Superseded by Zeus* 21

— brass pillar of, inscribed with laws 1184 Ionian by descent 736<sub>2</sub> 751 *provenance* of 736 1140

Poseidonia, coins of 1153

Poseidonia, the festival 297

Poseidoniasai 155

Poseidonios 482 f.

Potidala, founded where meteorite fell 886

Praeneste, mosaic from 626<sub>0</sub>

Praisos

*Cult*: pig 1103

— terra-cotta plaques from 1011

Praxiergidai 241<sub>0</sub>

Praxiteles 659<sub>0</sub> (?) 932 f. (?) 970 1009 (?)

Praxiteles 'the elder' (?) 938<sub>2</sub>

Preale 679<sub>0</sub>

Premnousia 515<sub>2</sub>

Prianos

*Cult*: Zeus Σαῶλλιος 413<sub>0</sub>

Priapos

*Type*: on column 1096

Priasos 531

Prinia, archaic goddess from 957<sub>0</sub>

Prinophoros 1134

Prochyte 3<sub>0</sub>

Prodikos 839

Prokne

*Myth*: 1147

*Genealogy*: w. of Tereus 53

Prokris

*Myth*: Kephalos 72

*Genealogy*: d. of Erechtheus 72

Promacheia 1008

Prometheus

*Myths*: theft of fire 228 refuses to reveal secret to Zeus 740 f. consents at last to reveal secret to Zeus 741 Herakles 956 at Ikonion makes images of clay 528 birth of Athena 125<sub>2</sub> cleaves head of Zeus 661 first to kill ox 661

*Attributes*: double axe 125<sub>2</sub> ring 1029<sub>10</sub> umbrella 57 willow (?) wreath 1029<sub>10</sub>

*Identified with Engonasin or Ingeniculus* 483

*In relation to fire-drill* 1075 (?) Zeus 1075

— pillar of 1115

Pron, Mt

*Cult*: Hera 65

Proserpina

*Attributes*: *modius* 1062<sub>2</sub>(<sub>10</sub>) sceptre 1062<sub>2</sub>(<sub>10</sub>)

*Type*: in Pompeian painting of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2</sub>(<sub>10</sub>)

*Associated with Dis* 432<sub>1</sub>

See also Persephone

Proteus

*Myth*: Helene 78

*Genealogy*: f. of Theonoe 349<sub>2</sub>

*Function*: seer 349<sub>2</sub> 743<sub>2</sub>

Protokles 121

Protokreon 121

Prousius See Kios

Psychro Cave on Mt Lasithi 1143

Ptah-Seker See Pataikos

Ptereleos 507<sub>2</sub>

Ptolemaios Chennos 1043<sub>1</sub>

Ptolemais in Egyptian Thebaid

*Cults*: Harbaktēs 1073 Hierax Theos 1073

Ptolemies, marriage-custom of 110 f.

- Punt, serpent-king of 984  
 Pushkalāvati  
*Cult:* Nandi 1086  
 — coin of 1086
- Pygmalion  
*Myths:* bids Bousiris cure eight years' drought by sacrificing a stranger 653<sub>0</sub> slays Acerbas h. of Eliassa 646<sub>0</sub>  
 — golden olive of 983
- Pyr 983
- Pyrenees, bear-festivals in 1080
- Pyrgoi  
*Cult:* Eileithyia 679<sub>0</sub>
- Pyrrhakos 118
- Pythagoras, bids abstain from eating plough-ox or ram 591, conceives soul of dead friend as hound 413<sub>0</sub> controls wind 106 explains earthquakes 2<sub>0</sub>
- Pythagoras of Rhegion 850
- Pythagoreans, cosmic ship 18<sub>0</sub> fire at centre and circumference of universe 19<sub>0</sub> Klotho, Atropos, Lachesis 717<sub>0</sub> Milky Way 946 pentagram 341<sub>0</sub> *πῖθος τετραπύκνος* 398<sub>0</sub> Sappho and Phaon 136<sub>0</sub> subterranean basilica at Rome 139
- Pythia, the festival 901<sub>0</sub>
- Pythion  
*Cults:* ἥποις Ἐριχάρης 1114 f. Zeus Καραβάρης 1114 f. Zeus Κεραῖνος 1157
- Pytho 929 See Delphoi
- Python, the vase-painter 510 512 518
- \*Qaḥin 884<sub>0</sub>
- Qebhsennuf 345<sub>0</sub>
- Quadi  
*Cult:* sword 1139  
 — miracle of 324 ff.
- Quinquatrus Minusculae 856<sub>0</sub>
- Quinquennialia 1141
- Quintilian describes the effect produced by Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 960
- Ramman  
*Type:* standing on bull 831  
*Identified with* Zeus 945  
*Compared with* Adad, Tešub, and the god of Mt. Tabor 1173
- Raria, sacred ploughing in 178<sub>0</sub> 606 cp. 610
- Rarian Plain 610 cp. 178<sub>0</sub> 606
- Ras Shamra  
*Cults:* Ba'al 1156 the dead 1193  
*Rite:* use of libation-funnels 1193  
 — *stèle* from 1156
- Remus and Romulus (bibliography) 1134 f.
- Rhadamanthys  
*Genealogy:* s. of Zeus by Europe 627<sub>0</sub> 628<sub>0</sub>  
*Function:* judge of dead 402  
 — oath of 47<sub>0</sub>
- Rhamnous  
*Cult:* Nemesis 955<sub>0</sub>  
 — sanctuary of Nemesis at 1073
- Rhapso  
*Function:* birth-goddess 89 94  
*Etymology:* 1121
- Rhea  
*Cults:* Athens 169<sub>0</sub> Mt. Ide in Crete 1033<sub>0</sub> Mt. Ide in Phrygia 1033<sub>0</sub> Mt. Kynthos (?) 1172  
*Myths:* consorts with Kronos 111<sub>0</sub> entrusts infant Zeus to the Kourètes and to the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide 931<sub>0</sub> entrusts infant Zeus to Themis 839<sub>0</sub>  
*Genealogy:* m. by Kronos of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Ennosigaios, Zeus 928  
*Functions:* 'Minoan' earth-goddess 200 953 mountain-mother 931  
*Attribute:* lions 1172  
*Types:* ara Capitolina 933 f. in chariot drawn by two griffins 842<sub>0</sub> (?) offering stone to Kronos 929 ff. veiled 935  
*Associated with* Kronos 169<sub>0</sub> 745  
 — Korymbantes followers of 823<sub>2</sub>
- Rheitoi 297
- Rhizenia (?), law-*kjrbis* from 1183 f.
- Rhodanos 366
- Rhodes  
*Cults:* Athena Αρδία 355 Damateres 1124 f. Isis 986 Zeus Ἀραβόπος 525  
*Myths:* Helios claims it as his portion 986 Helios weds Rhodes 986 Telchines 296 881, Zeus consorts with Hymalia by means of rain 477 Zeus rains golden snow at birth of Athena 477 670 719  
 — as a floating island 986 f. coins of 856<sub>0</sub> 1072 tubular stand from 197<sub>0</sub> Zeus and Hera in reliefs from 1034 ff.
- Rhodos, w. of Helios 986
- Rhoiai 818<sub>0</sub>
- Rhoio 818<sub>0</sub>
- Rhytion  
*Cult:* Zeus Σκολιος 1148
- Roma, the personification of Rome  
*Cult:* Pergamon 1191  
*Epithet:* Victrix 825<sub>0</sub>
- Rome  
*Cults:* Apollo 436<sub>0</sub> Bellona Pulvinensis 1142 Dis 1115 Dis Pater 904<sub>2</sub> Elagabalos 902 ff. Iuno Moneta 23 Iupiter Dolichenus 1097 f. Magna Mater 896 f. 896<sub>0</sub> Malachbelos 1159 Mars 432 442 f. Mars Ultor 1021 Minerva 856<sub>0</sub> Minerva Medica 859 Saturnus 967<sub>0</sub> Sol 906 f. Tellus 24<sub>0</sub> Terminus 441 Venus 443 Venus Genetrix (Genitrix) 1022 Victoria 896  
*Festivals:* Agon Capitolinus 1141 Consualia 437 Ludi Capitolini 1141 Nonae Caprotinae 612<sub>0</sub> Opiconsivia 437 Quinquatrus Minusculae 856<sub>0</sub> Quinquennialia 1141  
 — altar of Dis in Tarento at 1115 Catacomb of St. Balbina at 1119



## Rome (cont.)

Catacomb of St Domitilla at 972<sub>0</sub>  
 coins of 801 f. 821 856<sub>0</sub> 872 901<sub>2</sub> 902  
 904<sub>2</sub> 906 1020 1092 1095 Golden  
 House of Nero at 37 ff. 948 House  
 of Livia at 638<sub>0</sub> *manalis lapis* at  
 429 ff. *mundus* at 429 ff. *Palládion*  
 of 896 (?) 903<sub>2</sub> Pantheon at 353<sub>2</sub>  
 441 ff. pediment of temple of Jupiter  
*Capitolinus* at 707 1066 Porta  
 Capena at 432 *Roma quadrata* at 429<sub>2</sub>  
 430<sub>0</sub> 431<sub>0</sub> 436<sub>0</sub> 436<sub>2</sub> 438 *Scalae Caci* at  
 896 f. subterranean basilica at 135 ff.  
 Syrian sanctuary on Ianiculum at  
 1114 temple of Apollo at 436<sub>0</sub>  
 temple of Augustus at 460 temple of  
 Elagabalos on the Palatine at 903 f.  
 temple of Elagabalos in suburb of  
 903 f. temple of Jupiter *Capitolinus*  
 at 246<sub>0</sub> 707 1066 temple of Magna  
 Mater on Palatine at 896 f. 896<sub>2</sub>  
 temple of Mars *Ultor* at 1021  
 Tullianum at 366 Viale Manzoni  
*hypogeum* at 972<sub>0</sub>

## Romulus

*Myth*: hurls spear at Palatine 754<sub>2</sub>  
 — and Remus (bibliography) 1134 f.

Rosalia 293<sub>1</sub>

## Sabaoth 1086

## Sabazios

*Cult*: Thracio-Phrygians 874  
*Epithet*: Τῆς (Τῆς?) 874  
*Function*: rain 874  
*Identified with Zeus* 945  
 — boar dedicated to 875<sub>0</sub> regarded  
 as boar (?) 875<sub>0</sub>

## Sabines

*Cult*: Vacuna 1012

## Saepinum, burial within house at 1181

Sagaris, river in Phrygia 918<sub>2</sub> See also  
Sangarios

## Sagittarius 324

Saittai, coins of 408<sub>0</sub>

## Salamis

*Cult*: Zeus 650<sub>0</sub> (?)

*Myth*: Teukros 650<sub>0</sub>

## Salamis personified 956

## Salamis in Kypros

*Cults*: Athena 653<sub>0</sub> Jupiter *Salaminus*  
 646<sub>0</sub> Thea ἡ Οὐμβροί 561 (?) Zeus  
 646<sub>0</sub> ff. Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 648<sub>0</sub> 649<sub>0</sub>

*Rite*: human sacrifice to Agrauros or  
 Diomedes 653<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: Teukros 646<sub>0</sub> 650<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 833<sub>0</sub> temple called Διὸς  
 ἀσφάλεια at 646<sub>0</sub> f.

## Salhad

*Cult*: Zeus Μέγας ὁ Κέριος 1098

## Saliare, dancing islands in Lydia 989

## Salli, hymn of 1130

## Salmones

*Myth*: Zeus 966

*Personates Zeus* 141

## Salus 1092

## Samaš

*Functions*: sun, wisdom, law 1135 law  
 and righteousness 836

## Samemroumos 983

## Samos

*Cults*: Aphrodite ἡ Καλάμοις or ἡ  
 Ἐλεῖ 66<sub>2</sub> Dionysos Ἐλγιεύς 1030<sub>2</sub>  
 Hera 645<sub>0</sub> 969 1027 ff. 1045 Zeus  
 1027 ff. Zeus Μελίχοι 1187

*Festival*: Tenea 1028 ff.

*Rites*: ἱερὸν γάμοις 1027 ff. image of  
 Hera annually carried off to the  
 shore 1029 1031

*Myths*: Admete 1029 birth of Hera  
 beneath willow beside Imbrasos 1029  
 Neades or Neides 3<sub>0</sub>

— called Dryousa 1027<sub>1</sub> called  
 Parthenia 1027 coins of 211 645<sub>0</sub>  
 899<sub>2</sub> 1029 Heraion at 1027 once  
 occupied by Carians 1027<sub>1</sub> 1029  
 willow-tree of Hera at 1028 ff.

Samos, h. of Parthenia 1027<sub>1</sub>

## Samothraee

*Myth*: Dardanos and Iasion (Iason) 77<sub>0</sub>  
 77<sub>2</sub>

— mysteries in 133 135

## Sanchouniathon 887 891 892 1179

## Sandanos 366

## Sandas

*Type*: standing on lion 831

Sangarios, river of Asia Minor 531 See  
also SagarisSappho 136<sub>2</sub> 137<sub>4</sub>

## Saqqāra, mummies of horses at 1187

## Saracens

*Cults*: Aphrodite Χαβάρ (Χαμάρ) 915<sub>2</sub>  
 915<sub>2</sub> 917<sub>2</sub> Heosphoros 915<sub>2</sub> 917<sub>2</sub>

## Sarapis

*Cults*: Athens 588<sub>2</sub> Delos 154 f.

Sarmizegetusa 1162

*Attributes*: eagle 37<sub>0</sub> kalathos 1148  
 wreath 1148

*Identified with Zeus* 945

*Associated with Zeus* 1148

## Sardeis

*Cult*: Artemis 1082

*Rites*: ταυροκαθάρσια καὶ κυνήγια (?)  
 1091

— coins of 899<sub>2</sub> 899<sub>2(4)</sub>

## Sardus Pater 1119

## Sarmizegetusa

*Cults*: Fortuna Daciarum 1162 *Invictus*

Deus Serapis 1162 Sol *Invictus*

1162 Theos Hypsistos Ἐπὶ θεοῖς  
 1162

Saros 18<sub>0</sub>

## Sardinia

*Cults*: bull-god 1110 pillar 1110 spring  
 or well 1110

*Myth*: Aristaios 270

## Sarpedon the Lycian

*Myth*: slain by Patroklos 478

*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus 478 s. of Zeus  
 by Europe 628<sub>0</sub>

Saturnalia 432<sub>1</sub>

## Saturnus

*Cults:* Ghardimaou 1095 Numidia 1078

Rome 967<sub>2</sub>

*Festival:* Saturnalia 432<sub>1</sub>

*Rite:* human sacrifice commuted 433<sub>0</sub>

*Types:* cult-image filled with oil 967<sub>2</sub>

968 three-eyed (?) 933<sub>7</sub>

## Satyroi

*Attributes:* ivy-wreath 1133 *lagobólon*

382<sub>0</sub> *nebris* 1133 pine-wreath 1133

vine-wreath 1132 dancing 380<sub>4</sub> 382<sub>5</sub>

386<sub>0(1)</sub> double bust (bearded and

beardless) 1132 f.

## Schiblé 1114

## Seasons See Horni

Sebastopolis, coin of 408<sub>0</sub>Securitas 946<sub>16</sub>

## Sedasa

*Cults:* Hermes *Méγιστος* 1071 Zeus

Helios 1071

Segesta 177<sub>0</sub>

## Seimia (Semea, Sima)

*Cult:* Syria 889

## Seimios

*Cult:* Heliopolis in Syria 1095 Syria

889

## Seir, Mt 1076

## Seiren See Siren

## Seirios

*Cult:* Keos 266

*Types:* dog's head 271<sub>1</sub> forepart of dog

270<sub>6</sub> 271<sub>2</sub> star 271<sub>3</sub>

— oath by (?) 48<sub>0</sub> sun so called 1074

## Sekbet

*Type:* with leonine head, disk, and

*ankh* 1095

## Selene

*Myth:* consorts with Zeus 1111

*Genealogy:* m. of fifty daughters by

Endymion 357 m. of Herse by Zeus

179 f.

*Types:* riding horse or mule 958 driving

*quadriga* down behind hills 718

facing bust with moon on head,

seven stars ranged round, and zodiac

as framework 1035 f.

— meadows of 1064<sub>4</sub>

## Selenkeia on the Kalykadnos

*Cult:* Zeus *Bópeios* 161

— coins of 843<sub>2</sub>

## Seleukeia Pieria

*Cults:* Zeus *Káσιος* 884<sub>0</sub> Zeus *Κεραύνιος*

884<sub>0</sub>

— coins of 884<sub>0</sub>

Selge, coins of 645<sub>0</sub>Selinos, the river-god 614<sub>5</sub>

## Selinous

*Cults:* Apollon 614<sub>5</sub> Demeter *Μαλοφόρος*

1136 1188 Hekate *Προτυλαία* 1188

*Πασικρατεία* 1188 f. Zeus *Μελίχιος*

1188 f.

— coins of 614<sub>5</sub> metope from temple

'E or R' at 1036 1038 f. metope

from temple 'F or S' at 615<sub>2(1)</sub>

Selket or Serket 345<sub>1</sub>

## Semea See Seimia

## Semele

*Cult:* Thraeo-Phrygians 874

*Epithets:* *Έρχώ* 1114 *Τη* (*Τή*) 874

*Myth:* Zeus 82<sub>3</sub>

*Function:* earth 874

## Serapis See Sarapis

## Seriphos

*Myth:* Diktys s. of Peristhenes draws

chest of Danaë to land 455

## Sestos

*Cults:* Theos Oibios 656<sub>2</sub> Zeus *Ολβιος*

656<sub>2</sub> (?)

## Set 1135

## Sethlans

*Attribute:* double axe 678<sub>(1)</sub>

## Siehna 295

Side, coins of 813<sub>5</sub>

## Sidon

*Cult:* Astarte 1023

— coins of 158<sub>4</sub>

## Sigurd 1174

## Sikinos

*Cult:* Hera *Βασίλεια* (?) 61<sub>1</sub>

## Sikyon

*Cult:* (Hebe) *Δία* 184<sub>2</sub>

## Silenos

*Etymology:* 1106

*Types:* dancing 512 with pig's ears 92<sub>0</sub>

## Silsila

*Cult:* Neilos Zeus *Νεφάρης ὁ Μέγιστος*

349

## Sima See Seimia

Simeon Stylites 779<sub>0</sub>Sinis 10<sub>1</sub>

Sinope, coins of 1137 silver bracelets from

765<sub>4</sub>

## Sinties 228

## Sipylos, Mt

*Myths:* Priasos 531 Tantalos 418<sub>0</sub>

— grave of Tantalos on 417<sub>0</sub>

## Siren

*Types:* beating head and breast 385<sub>0(1)</sub>

flanked by *loutrophoros* and Sphinx

393<sub>0</sub> flanking nude Aphrodite 1016

on column 387<sub>2</sub> on sepulchral *stèle*

132

— helps Herakles in rape of Delphic

tripod 799<sub>1</sub>

## Sisyphos

*Types:* rolling stone up hill 399 416

lashed by Erinyes 416

## Sithon

*Myth:* gives his d. Pallene to winner of

single combat 523 f.

Skedastos, sacrifice to daughters of 565<sub>1</sub>Skepsia, coin of 517<sub>0</sub>

## Skira 115

Skiron, the suburb of Athens, sacred

ploughing at 606

## Skiron, the brigand 1186

## Skiron, the wind 130

Skirophia 166<sub>0</sub> 602Skopas 135 471 704<sub>2</sub> (?)

## Skopas, the Silenos 513



- Skylakeus 413<sub>0</sub>  
 Skylla  
*Etymology*: 414<sub>0</sub> 416<sub>0</sub>  
*Types*: dog 414<sub>0</sub> (?) semi-human 414<sub>0</sub> ff.  
*Connected with Sicily* 976  
*In relation to Zeus Skyllios* 1148  
 Skyllies 414<sub>0</sub> 1148  
 Skyllion, Mt 413<sub>0</sub>  
 Skythia  
*Cult*: scimitar 907<sub>0</sub>  
 Slavonic deities (?) : Dzewana 64<sub>0</sub> Dzydzi-  
 lelya 64<sub>0</sub> Jesza 64<sub>0</sub> Lado 289<sub>2</sub> Lel  
 64<sub>0</sub> Lyada 64<sub>0</sub> Marzyana 64<sub>0</sub> Nya 64<sub>0</sub>  
 Perdoytus 108 Pogoda 64<sub>0</sub> Polel 64<sub>0</sub>  
 Żywy 64<sub>0</sub>  
 Smilis 1027  
 Smyrna  
*Cults*: Atys 22 Boubrostis 1156 Zeus  
 Ζωρηρ 22  
*Rites*: sacrifice of black bull to  
 Boubrostis 1156 τρωποκαθάρσια 1091  
 — marble relief at 757 f.  
 Sol  
*Cults*: Aquae Solis 863<sub>11</sub> Palmyra 1112  
 Rome 906 f.  
*Function*: a fusion of Elagabalos and  
 other oriental Ba'alim (?) 907  
*Etymology*: 858  
*Attribute*: radiate crown 41  
*Types*: in quadriga pursues Luna in  
 biga 41 radiate 863<sub>11</sub>  
*Identified with Elagabalos* 901<sub>1</sub> 902<sub>2</sub>  
 Solomon, throne of 957<sub>0</sub>  
 Solon, *kýrbeis* and *axones* of 949  
 Solon, the gem-engraver 853<sub>1</sub>  
 Soma 128  
 Sopatreia 593<sub>2</sub>  
 Sopatros 590 ff. 604 661<sub>2</sub>  
 Sophia  
*Epithet*: γενέτις 745<sub>0</sub>  
 Sophokles, controls wind 106  
 Sosipolis  
*Cult*: Elis 239<sub>1</sub>  
 Souinion  
*Cult*: Zeus Μεσίλιος 1184  
 Sparta  
*Cults*: Aphrodite Έρόπλιος 722<sub>3</sub> Artemis  
 Αργοδομα 1030 Artemis Όφθα 1009  
 1030 Asklepios Άγρίρας 1030<sub>1</sub> Athena  
 Χαλκίαιος 11<sub>1</sub> 661 Moirai Λαχέσις  
 722<sub>3</sub> Oupis 189; Ήμερον 161 Zeus  
 Εόάρεμος 160 Zeus Τύρρος 1162  
*Festivals*: Gymnopaïdiai 997 1008  
 Promacheia 1008  
*Rites*: διαμαρτυρία 1134 Αὐδῶν πομπή  
 1009  
*Myth*: Helene 78  
 — stèle from 507<sub>2</sub>  
 Sphinx  
*Myth*: Mt Phikion 506  
 Sphinxes  
*Type*: grasping Theban children 955  
 Stara Zagora, bronze statuette of Zeus  
 Olympios at 1196  
 Statoniensis, Lake, floating island in 1013  
 Sterope 956  
 Stesichoros, palinode of 77 f.  
 Stoics 234 ff. 726 f. 878 f. 947 961 (?) 1046<sub>3</sub>  
 Stonehenge, genetically posterior to Wood-  
 henge 910<sub>3</sub>  
 Stratonikeia  
*Cults*: Hekate 1066 Hekate Δαδοφόρος  
 544<sub>2</sub> Theos Agathos 1162 Zeus 568  
 Zeus Παράμαρος 544<sub>2</sub> 1066 Zeus  
 Τύρρος 1162  
 — coins of 568 ep. 589 or precedes  
 priest to 568  
 Stratos in Akarnania  
*Cult*: Zeus 1166 f.  
 Strophades, as floating islands 987 called  
 Plotai 987  
 Stymphalos  
*Cult*: Hera Χήρα 1070  
 — tomb of Zeus at 1070 (?)  
 Sucnelus  
*Compared with Cornish 'Jack of the  
 Hammer'* 1142  
 Sul 858 See Sulis  
 Sulien, St 859<sub>2(1)</sub>  
 Sulis  
*Cult*: Aquae Sulis 858 ff.  
*Epithet*: Minerva 859<sub>2(1-3)</sub> 859<sub>4</sub>  
*Functions*: hot curative springs 858  
 sun-goddess 859 863  
*Compared with Minerva Medica* 859  
 Sumerians  
*Cults*: Domouzi (later Tamouz) 1125  
 Im-dugud 1155 Lilit (7) 832 ff.  
 Nin-khursag 1155  
 — balag in relation to *pélekys* (?)  
 1141 bull's head from harp of 1102  
 Summanus 1115  
 Symbetylos  
*Cult*: Syria 889  
 Sympheropolis  
*Cult*: Zeus Άραβόριος 1173  
 Symplegades 975 f. 983 987  
 Synnada  
*Cults*: Zeus 1070 Zeus Πάρδημος 212<sub>2</sub>  
 — coins of 212<sub>2</sub>  
 Syra See Syros  
 Syracuse  
*Cults*: Athena 850<sub>6</sub> Zeus Οδριος (Jupiter  
 Imperator) 148  
 — coins of 784 f. 819 870<sub>4</sub>  
 Syria  
*Cults*: Seimia (Semea, Sima) 889  
 Seimios 889 Symbetylos 889 Zeus  
 Βέρυλος 890 f.  
 — coins of 820 f. 856<sub>0</sub> idols with two  
 or more heads from 1135  
 Syrianos 745  
 Syrinx  
*Myth*: Pan 1012  
 Syros, folk-tales from 818<sub>0</sub> 977  
 Tabor, Mt  
*Etymology*: 1102  
 — divine light round summit of  
 1068 name and *act* of spread to

- Tabor, Mt (*cont.*)  
 Crete, Rhodes, Agrigentum, and  
 Crimea 1172 f.
- Tages  
*Myth*: 203<sub>0</sub>  
 — lore of 434
- Tainaros, Cape  
*Cult*: Poseidon 21 23<sub>2</sub>
- Tainaros in Lakonike 257<sub>1</sub>
- Tattle 1111
- Tala (?) 989 See Gygaia Limne
- Talaïmenes 989
- Tallesin 1174
- Talos  
*Epithet*: *Perdix* 1111  
*Myth*: 1110  
*Genealogy*: nephew of Daidalos 1110 f.  
*Attribute*: saw 1110  
*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeni-  
 culus 491  
*Compared with* Daidalos and Ikaros  
 1111
- Tamise (Temsche) 338<sub>1</sub>
- Tanagra  
*Cults*: Athena *Ζωστέρεια* 567<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
*Μαχάρης* 567<sub>0</sub>  
 — tomb of Orion at 417<sub>0</sub>
- Tanais 366
- Tantalos  
*Epithet*: *ἡερόφοιτος* 418<sub>0</sub> *ἡερόφοιτος* 418<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths*: buried beneath Mt Sipylos 418<sub>0</sub>  
 overhanging rock 416 417<sub>0</sub> f.  
*Genealogy*: s. of Zeus 417<sub>0</sub> f. of Pelops  
 417<sub>0</sub>  
*Functions*: doublet of Atlas 417<sub>0</sub> Giant  
 or Titan 418<sub>0</sub> supporter of sky 418<sub>0</sub>  
*Etymology*: 417<sub>0</sub>  
*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeni-  
 culus 491  
 — bones of 566<sub>2</sub> grave of, at Polion  
 in Lesbos 417<sub>0</sub> grave of, on Mt  
 Sipylos 417<sub>0</sub> perhaps a Hittite king  
 416<sub>1</sub>
- Tantalos, Mt, in Lesbos 417<sub>0</sub>
- Taos 491
- Taranis  
*Cult*: Celts 1191 (?)  
*Attribute*: wheel 1191  
*Type*: holding wheel 1074 (?)
- Tarentum  
*Cults*: Anemoi 105 f. Hera 636<sub>0</sub> Zeus  
*Ἐλευθέριος* 1097  
*Rite*: sacrifice of ass to the Winds  
 105 f.  
 — antefixes with head of Io from  
 635<sub>0</sub> f. coins of 636<sub>0</sub> 714<sub>0</sub> 794 frieze  
 from tomb at 425 loom-weights from  
 795 relief of Twelve Gods from  
 1055 ff. terra-cotta disks from 1119  
 1136
- Tarentum in the Campus Martius 1115
- Tark See Tarku
- Tarku  
*Cults*: Hittites (?) 651<sub>0</sub> 652<sub>0</sub> Leleges (?)  
 651<sub>0</sub>
- Tarku (*cont.*)  
*Identified with* Zeus 651<sub>0</sub>
- Tarquiensis, Lake See Volsiniensis,  
 Lake
- Tartaros  
*Etymology*: 411<sub>0</sub> (?)
- Tarvos *Trigaranus* 1100
- Tarxien, seated goddesses and other discoid  
 figures from 1101
- Tat 332<sub>2</sub>
- Taunon  
*Etymology*: 1155
- Taurophonia 570 1110
- Tauros, Mt  
*Cults*: Elagabalos 902 Faustina the  
 younger 902
- Tav-, pre-Phrygian form of Zeus 1155
- Tavium See Taunon
- Taygeton, Mt, ascent of 1164
- Tegea  
*Cult*: Athena *Ἀλέα* 1141  
 — temple of Athena *Ἀλέα* at 1141
- Teiresias  
*Etymology*: 1115
- Telchines  
*Function*: produce clouds, rain, hail,  
 snow 296 881<sub>1</sub>
- Teleboes 507<sub>0</sub> 508
- Telephos 823<sub>2</sub>
- Telesphoros  
*Type*: hooded 1182 f.  
*In relation to* Genius Cucullatus 1183
- Tellus  
*Cults*: Numidia 1078 Rome 24<sub>2</sub>  
*Rite*: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23  
*Type*: with *cornu copiae* and child  
 904
- Temenothyrai  
*Cult*: Zeus *Γαλακτικός* 1104  
 — rock-cut throne of Geryones at  
 1070
- Tempe 10<sub>1</sub>
- Temsche (Tamise) 338<sub>1</sub>
- Tenedos  
*Cults*: Apollon 1146 Dionysos *Ἀνθρωπο-  
 ποιήτης* 599<sub>(12)</sub> Dionysos *Ἠραδίας*  
 599<sub>(12)</sub>  
 — coins of 789<sub>2</sub>
- Tenes 1146 See also Tennes (Tenes)
- Tennes (Tenes) and Hemitheia 458<sub>2</sub> (?)
- Tenos, 'Tower of the Winds' at 129<sub>0</sub>
- Tereus  
*Myth*: pursues Prokne and Philomela  
 1147  
*Genealogy*: h. of Prokne 53  
*Attribute*: double axe 1147  
 — in the *Birds* of Aristophanes 44 ff.
- Termessos (Termessus Maior)  
*Cults*: Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 1176 Zeus  
*Σολυμαίης* 1176  
*Festival*: Eleutheria (?) 1176  
 — coins of 1177
- Terminus  
*Cult*: Rome 441  
*Rite*: blood of burnt sacrifice, incense,



Terminus (*cont.*)

corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed in hole 441

— altar of (?) 430<sub>0</sub> stone of 441 1067

## Terra

*Epithet*: mater 453<sub>2</sub>

## Terra Mater

*Rite*: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23

Tesana 259<sub>0</sub>

## Testimonius

*Cult*: Numidia 1078

## Tešub

*Compared with* Adad, Ramman, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173

## Tethys

*Genealogy*: m. of Metis by Okeanos 743

Tettix the Cretan 257<sub>1</sub>Teukroi 651<sub>0</sub>

## Teukros

*Myth*: founds temple of Zeus at Salamis in Kypros 646<sub>0</sub> 650<sub>0</sub>

*Function*: faded god (?) 650<sub>0</sub>

*Etymology*: 651<sub>0</sub>

— as name of priestly dynasts at Olba 643<sub>0</sub> 645<sub>0</sub> prehistory of 650<sub>0</sub> ff.

## Teutamidas 1187

Teuthras 823<sub>2</sub>Thales 19<sub>1</sub> 19<sub>2</sub>Thaletas 592<sub>3</sub>Thalna 678<sub>(1)</sub> 679<sub>0</sub> 679<sub>(2)</sub> 680<sub>(4)</sub>

*Function*: birth-goddess 88<sub>0</sub> 679<sub>(2)</sub>

## Thamyris

*Myth*: blinded by Muses 488

*Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeniculus 488

Thanr 665<sub>0</sub> 678<sub>(1)</sub> 678<sub>(2)</sub>

## Thasos

*Cults*: Hestia Βουλαια 1125 Zeus 'Αγωναίος Θάσιος 1181 Zeus Βουλαίος 1125 Zeus Καραϊβάρις 1115 Zeus Κρήσιος Παρρηίος 1181

— archaistic relief from town-gates of 1155 f.

Thaulia 282<sub>2</sub>

## Thaulon 282 596 ff. ancestor of Boutypoi

597 etymology of 603 first to sacrifice ox 597 661<sub>2</sub>

## Thaulonidai 282 identified with Boutypoi 597 603

## Thaumasion, Mt

*Myth*: stone swallowed by Kronos 929

Thea 302<sub>(1)</sub> 309 312<sub>(4)</sub>

## Thea ἡ Ὀμβρία

*Cult*: Salamis in Kypros 561 (?)

## Theandrius

*Cult*: Carnuntum (?) 1163

## Thebai Phthiotides

*Cult*: Zeus Μεσυχίος 1187

## Thebe, early name of Thebes in Boiotia 224

## Thebes in Boiotia

*Cults*: Apollon Ἰσμήνιος 507<sub>2</sub> 880 Apollon Χαλάβριος 880 Athena Ὀμολαίς 608<sub>2</sub> Dionysos 1103 Hektor 1174 Mother of the gods 893 Pan 893 Zeus Ἐλευός 762<sub>2</sub>

Thebes in Boiotia (*cont.*)

*Festival*: Daphnephoria 880

*Rite*: bridal bath from Ismenos 372

*Myths*: birth of Dionysos 477 1118

Laos 426 Menoikens 815<sub>0</sub> Semele

82<sub>2</sub> Zeus consorts with Alkmene w. of Amphitryon 477

— Ἡλεκτρίδες πόλιν at 77<sub>2</sub> Νήστραι πόλιν at 815<sub>0</sub>

## Thebes in Egypt

*Cults*: Amen 882<sub>2</sub> Zeus 1131 Zeus Ὁνβαεύς 837

## Theira

*Cults*: Demeter 992 Men 992

*Rite*: κάλαθος 992

Thekla, St 475<sub>1</sub> 523 f.

## Thelpousa, coins of 1012

## Themis

*Cult*: Delphoi 1121

*Myths*: advises Zeus to flay Amaltheia 839 consorts with Zeus 744<sub>(1)</sub> 1064 f. entrusts infant Zeus to the

nymph Amaltheia 839<sub>0</sub>

*Genealogy*: m. of Dike by Zeus 823 m. of Horai and Moirai by Zeus 744<sub>(1)</sub> 1064

*Function*: 'an emanation from Ge' 1064

*Identified with* Ge 1064 Zeus 951

*Associated with* Ge 1121

## Theodosios I, abolishes Olympic festival 969 suppresses paganism 969

## Theogamia 1047

## Theoi Agreisi 1176

## Theoi Agrioi 1174 1176

## Theoi Agrotroi 1174 1176

## Theoi Akraioi

*Cult*: Mytilene 6

## Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi

*Cult*: Inōnū in Phrygia 1146

## Theoi Katachthonioi

*Cult*: Nakeleia 1160

## Theonoe 349 1193

## Theopista, St 1102

## Theopistus, St 1102

## Theopropoi 593 f. 595

Theos 302<sub>(1)</sub> 309 312<sub>(4)</sub>

## Theos Agathos

*Cult*: Stratonikeia 1162

## Theos Agnostos See Agnostos Theos

## Theos Aniketos

*Cult*: Amastris 1140

*Epithet*: Ἀσβανεύς 1140

## Theos Hypsistos

*Cults*: Amastris 1163 Thessalonike 1162

*Epithet*: Ἐπὶ ἥλιος 1163

*Identified with* Helios 1163 Jehovah 1162

## Theos Megas

*Cult*: Odessos in Thrace 1129

## Theos Olbios

*Cults*: Kavak 630<sub>0</sub> Lampsakos 1196

Sestos 656<sub>2</sub>

## Theos Tauros

*Cult*: Thespiai 1086<sub>2</sub>

## Thera

- Cults:* (Poseidon) Γαυδοχοι 13, (Zeus) Βορραϊοι 161 (?)  
 — rain-magic in 284

## Therapne

- Cult:* Poseidon Γαυδοχοι 11

## Theren 1032

## Thermos in Aitolia

- Cults:* Ge 1184 Helios 1184 Zeus 1184

Thesan 259<sub>0</sub>'Theseion' at Athens 223<sub>0</sub>

## Theseus

- Myths:* finds sword of Aigeus 484<sub>11</sub>  
 Peirithoos 956 purified at altar of Zeus Meilichios 1184 Skiron 1186

- Genealogy:* s. of Aigeus by Aithra 484<sub>11</sub>

- Types:* bidding farewell to Peirithoos 402 Euphranor 1186 fighting Amazons 955 hurling Skiron into sea 1186 raising the rock at Troizen 484 ff. with Minotaur as centre of Labyrinth in mosaic 1087

- Identified with* Engonasin or Ingeniculus 484

Thesmophoria 166<sub>0</sub> 168 815<sub>0</sub> 1030 f. 1083

## Thespias

- Cults:* Apollon 1070 Athena 1066 Milichie 1187 Mnemosyne 1070 Theos Tauros 1086 Zeus 1070 Zeus Altpaos 1066 Zeus Kapadon 1148 1162 1165 Zeus Melichios 1187

## Thesprotis, floating islands in 987

## Thessalonike

- Cults:* Jehovah 1162 Kabeiros 902, Theos Hypsistos 1162  
 — coins of 902<sub>0</sub>

## Thessaly

- Cults:* Aphrodite 271 (?) Athena Βοώθεια 608 Athena Τρωία 871, Thetis 743, Zeus Λαοφόριος 525 1080 1167  
*Festivals:* Kataibasia 1115 Sichna 295  
*Rite:* Kledona 290  
 — coins of 870 f.

Thestios 161<sub>0</sub>

## Thetis

- Cult:* Thessaly 743<sub>0</sub>  
*Myths:* hides Hephaistos in cave for nine years 228 seized by Peleus 1019 wooed by Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollon 741 f.

- Type:* borne by Triton 129

- Associated with* Zeus 742 f.

- Compared with* Metis 745

Theudaisia 570<sub>2</sub>

## Thevrumines 1090

Thisbe, gold ring from 681<sub>0</sub>

## Thomas, St., as 'twin' brother of Jesus 1128

## Thor

- Epithet:* Thorrkarl 1078  
*Attribute:* hammer 926 1139 (Mjölnir) 1142

## Thorikos

- Cult:* Kert. Δειδνα 725<sub>0</sub>

## Thoth

- Identified with* Hermes 332<sub>2</sub>  
*In relation to the letter* Θ 343<sub>1</sub>

## Thrace

- Cults:* Bendis 189, Derzelas 1129 Erikepaos 64<sub>0</sub> Liber Pater 1118  
 — three meteorites fall in 886

## Thraci-Phrygians

- Cults:* Dionysos Τητ 874 Dios 952 Dios Νύεος 952 Erikepaos 64<sub>0</sub> Sabazios 874 Semele Τη (Τη) 874 Zemela 952 Zeus Τητ (Τητ?) 873 f.  
 — Dios, Zemela, and Dios Νύεος naturalised in central Greece as Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos 952 prepared to accept Christianity 952

## Thrakia Kome

- Cult:* Zeus Χαλδαίος Σάβωρ 880 f.

## Thrasius See Phrasios

## Thronax, Mt 65

## Thyateira, coins of 211

## Thyestes

- Myth:* the first victim sacrificed by Bousiris 653<sub>0</sub>  
 — story of, as dance-theme 935<sub>2</sub>

Thyestes, a storm-god (?) 899<sub>4</sub>

## Tiāmat 1135

## Tieion See Tios (Tion)

## Tina (Tinia)

- Etymology:* 1113

- Attributes:* lily-wreath 88<sub>0</sub> lotiform thunderbolt 92<sub>0</sub>

- Types:* bearded 92<sub>0</sub> beardless 680<sub>(4)</sub> birth of Athena 678<sub>(1)</sub> 678<sub>(2)</sub> 679<sub>(2)</sub> 680<sub>(4)</sub> 680<sub>(5)</sub> birth of Dionysos 88<sub>0</sub> seated with eagle-sceptre in right hand and winged thunderbolt in left 88<sub>0</sub>

- Confused with* Tinthun 259<sub>0</sub> (?)

- on Orvieto cone 1067

## Tindaridai 1113 See Tyndaridai

Tingis, grave of Antaios at 372<sub>0</sub>

## Tinia 1067 See also Tina (Tinia)

Tinthun or Tintun 259<sub>0</sub>

## Tion See Tios (Tion)

## Tios (Tion)

- Etymology:* 1155

- visit to, and views of 1112

## Tiryns

- Cult:* Hera 1085

- small snakes at 764

## Tisyroi 1092

## Titane

- Cult:* Euamerion 1183

## Titanes

- Myth:* Zeus 478<sub>0</sub> 839 966

- Etymology:* 1103

## Tithonos

- Myth:* tended by Heos (Eos) in old age 247

- Metamorphosed into* cicada 247

- Genealogy:* s. of Kephalos and f. of Phaethon 246 f. s. of Laomedon by Strymo or Trymo or Rhoio 247<sub>1</sub> f. of Memnon by Heos (Eos) 260



## Tithonos (cont.)

Function: personification of cicada 257

Etymology: 257 259<sub>0</sub>

Compared with Erichthonios 248

Tivuno 259<sub>0</sub>

Tiv, Etruscan moon-goddess 1130

Tiv., Phrygian form of Zeus 1155

Tmarion, Mt, in Arkadia 1168

Tmaros, Mt See Tomaros, Mt, near Dodona

Tmolos, Mt

Cults: Zeus Διότιμος (?) 320<sub>4</sub> Zeus Τέρτιος 562

Myth: birth of Zeus 562

— place called Γαῖα Διὸς Τέρτιος, later Διότιμος on 320<sub>4</sub>

Tmor, Mt, near Ragusa 1167

Tomaros or Tmaros, Mt, near Dodona

Cult: Zeus Τυάριος 1168

Etymology: 1168

Tomori, Mt, near Berat

Cults: Abbas Ali 1168 ff. Zeus (?) 1168 ff.

Festival: Bektashi celebration on Aug. 25 (15) 1168 ff.

Etymology: 1168

— ascents of 1168 ff. gold plant on 1171 oath by 1169 ruin called Dodona on 1171

## Trajan

Cult: Pergamon 1191

Personates Zeus Φιδιος (?) 1191

## Tralleis

Cults: Poseidon 22 Zeus 22

— relief from 630<sub>2</sub>

Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 1177

## Triballos

Myth: his gd. Polyphonte transformed into owl, her sons Agrios and Oreios into vulture and swallow (?), and their maid into woodpecker 57<sub>2</sub>

Etymology: 57<sub>2</sub>

— in the Birds of Aristophanes 57 f.

## Triptolemos

Functions: king of Eleusis 596 judge of dead 402

Attribute: plough 607

Trita 128 545 cp. 546<sub>1</sub>

Tritoi Patres 120<sub>0</sub>

Tritomenis 719<sub>4</sub>

Triton, river 124 f.

## Triton

Function: wind 129

Etymology: 124 f.

Attributes: conch 129 fish-skin 129

## Tritones

Function: protectors of the dead 132

Attributes: conch 132 paddle 132 wreath of reeds (?) 132

Type: sportive 39

Associated with Nereids 132

Tritonis, spring or lake 124

## Tritopateres

Cult: Kyrene 115

See also Tritopateres, Tritopatreis

## Tritopator

Cult: Delos 116 ff.

Epithet: Περραιβὸν Ἀτγλιῶν 118

## Tritopateres 112 ff.

Cult: Athens 113 ff.

Genealogy: sons of Ouranos and Ge 120

Functions: ancestral spirits 119 controllers of the wind 139 guardians of the soul 139 procreation 113 122 winds 121

Identified with Amalkeides, Protokles, Protokreon 121 Kottos, Briareos, Gyges 120

Compared with Lares Compitales 119

See also Tritopateres, Tritopatreis

## Tritopatreis

Cult: Marathon 115

Epithet: Ζαχναῖον 114 f.

Rite: τράπεζα 115<sub>1</sub>

Genealogy: sons of Ge and Helios 120<sub>4</sub> sons of Ge and Ouranos 120 sons of Selene and Helios 120<sub>4</sub>

Function: procreation 120

Superseded by Hagia Trias 114 (?) cp. 119 (?)

— abaton of 114 Τριτοπατρίς originally a verse-form of Τριτοπάτρες 112<sub>3</sub>

See also Tritopateres, Tritopateres

## Tritopatreus 120

## Troizen

Festival: Lithobolia 612<sub>0</sub>

Myths: contest of Poseidon with Athena 751<sub>1</sub> Damia and Auxesia 612<sub>0</sub>

Theseus finds sword of Aigeus 484<sub>11</sub>

— coins of 485<sub>12</sub>

## Trophonios

Associated with Agamedes 507<sub>5</sub>

## Troy

Cult: Athena 193<sub>0</sub>

Myth: Zeus drops ákmones on the Trojan plain 924

— axe-hammers from 1142 f. face-urns from 193<sub>0</sub>

Trozen 751<sub>1</sub> See Troizen

Trysa, reliefs from heróion at 485<sub>12</sub> 1000 ff. 1008

Tuamātef 345<sub>1</sub>

Tuatha Dé Danann 367

Tuccia the Vestal 428

Tullus Hostilius, hears voice from Alban Mount 492 sees stones fall from sky 492 slain by thunderbolt 433<sub>0</sub>

Turan 92<sub>0</sub> 839

Tusculum, well-chamber at 366

Tut-ankh-Amen, throne of 957<sub>0</sub>

## Twelve Gods

Cults: Bosphoros 147 f. Koa 566<sub>2</sub>

Functions: a divine 'Synoikismos' on Ionian soil (s. vii n.c.) 1055 'Monats- oder Zodiakusgötter' (s. iv n.c.) 1055

team of beneficent deities 1062

Types: in archaic reliefs 1055 ff. relief from Tarentum, 1055 ff.

## Twelve Gods (cont.)

Euphranor 1186 *ara Borgheese* 1057f.  
*puteal Albani* 1057 1059 *ara Albani*  
 1060 f. in Pompeian paintings  
 1062 f.

## Tyche

*Cults*: Gaza 553 Nabataei 1097 Olba  
 646<sub>0</sub>  
*Personated by* Tranquillina 1177  
*Attributes*: cornu copiae 1095 rudder  
 1095 turreted crown 1095  
*Type*: standing with *kallathos*, rudder,  
 and cornu copiae 646<sub>0</sub> 655<sub>0</sub>

Tydeus 605<sub>(C)</sub>

## Tyndaridai

*Etymology*: 1113 1134

## Typhaonion, Mt 506

Typhion, Mt 506<sub>1</sub>

## Typhoeus

*Myths*: Mt Aitne 3<sub>0</sub> Zeus 615<sub>3</sub>  
*Type*: with snaky legs 842<sub>2</sub>  
 See also Typhon

## Typhon

*Myths*: fight with Zeus 191<sub>0</sub> laid low by  
 thunderbolt (of Zeus) and bow of  
 Apollon 55<sub>0</sub> searches for s. of Osiris  
 983

*Functions*: enemy of Osiris 345<sub>0</sub> heat  
 302<sub>0(C)</sub>

*Types*: three-bodied 140 with snaky  
 legs 842<sub>2</sub>

— Mt Typhaonion named after 506  
 See also Typhoeus

## Typhos See Typhoeus, Typhon

## Tyr 1134

## Tyre

*Cults*: Astarte 892 f. Herakles *'Aστρο-*  
*χίτωρ* 892 f. 978 Melqarth 893 *stēlai*  
 of Pyr and Pneuma 983  
 — coins of 892 979 f. 982

## Tyrimnos 1140

## Tyrus 1140 See Tyrimnos

Tyrrhenians, attempt to capture Dionysos  
 1031<sub>4</sub> attempt to carry off image of  
 Samian Hera 1029

See also Pelasgians

## Tyrsenians See Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians

Tyrsenos, s. of Herakles by the Lydian  
 woman (Omphale) 729<sub>2</sub>

Tyssilio, St 859<sub>2(1)</sub>Tyssul, St 859<sub>2(1)</sub>

## Ukko 1101

## Ullin 1134

## Ullr 1134

## Underworld See Index II

## Uni

*Function*: birth-goddess 679<sub>(2)</sub> 680<sub>(4)</sub>

*Attribute*: drinking-horn 92<sub>0</sub>

*Type*: suckling Herakle 92<sub>0</sub>

Ur-Nammu, *stēle* of 832<sub>5</sub> 1196

## Ursa Maior 484 953

## Ursa Minor 953

Uther 509<sub>2</sub>Uzza 914<sub>4</sub>

## Vacuna

*Cult*: Sabines 1012

— Aque Cutiliae sacred to 1012

## Vadimonis, Lake, floating islands in 1014

Valeria Luperca, story of 802<sub>5</sub>

## Vari

*Cults*: Apollon *'Ερρος* 261 Apollon *Νέμρος*

265<sub>0</sub> Charis 261<sub>7</sub> Ge 265<sub>0</sub> Nymphs

261<sub>7</sub> 262<sub>0</sub> 263<sub>0</sub> 265<sub>0</sub> Pan 261<sub>7</sub> 265<sub>0</sub>

Varro, M. Terentius, on the Islands of the  
 Nymphs in Lydia 988 f.

## Vartevar 293

## Varuna 1134

Vediovis 314<sub>4</sub> further bibliography of 1109

Vena 95<sub>2(2)</sub>

## Venti

*Types*: blowing conch-shells 41 head  
 with puffed cheeks 160 Tritonian  
 129 with winged head 706<sub>2</sub>

See also Anemoi

## Venus

*Cults*: Elousa 915<sub>2</sub> Mt Eryx 175<sub>2</sub>  
 Numidia 1078 Paphos 646<sub>0</sub> Rome  
 1022

*Epithets*: Amathusia 646<sub>0</sub> Erycina 175<sub>2</sub>

*Genetrix* (*Genitrix*) 1021 f. *Paphia*  
 646<sub>0</sub> *Pompeiana* 1062<sub>2(1)</sub>

*Personated by* Faustina Iunior 173<sub>0</sub>

Livia 1021 Lucilla 173<sub>0</sub>

*Myth*: transforms Cerastae into bulls  
 653<sub>0</sub>

*Attributes*: modius 1062<sub>2(1)</sub> rudder (?)  
 1062<sub>2(1)</sub>

*Types*: Arkesilaos 1023 half-draped,  
 holding tree, with Cupids playing  
 about her 173<sub>0</sub> with Cupid on her  
 shoulder 1020 ff. in Pompeian  
 paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2(1f)</sub>

*Associated with* Mars 442 f.

Venus, the planet 173<sub>0</sub> 180

## Vesta

*Attributes*: aas 1062<sub>2(1)</sub> sceptre 1062<sub>2(1)</sub>

*Type*: in Pompeian painting of Twelve  
 Gods 1062<sub>2(1)</sub>

— fire of 903<sub>5</sub>

## Vesuvius, Mt

*Myth*: Alkyoneus and other Giants 3<sub>0</sub>  
 Vetulonia, 'Tomb of the Lactor' at 1192

## Victoria

*Cult*: Rome 896

*Type*: sacrificing bull 904

See also Nikai, Nike

## Vikare 1111

Vikrama, lion-seat of 957<sub>9</sub>Virbius 177<sub>0</sub>

## Virgin, the

*Type*: baring her breast in last appeal  
 974<sub>0</sub>

*Compared with* Danaë 467<sub>0</sub>

Virgo 71<sub>1</sub>

*Identified with* Dike 823

Virgo Caelestis 1045<sub>5</sub>

Vocontii, meteorite falls in territory of  
 886

Voleanalia 431<sub>4</sub>



## Volcanus

*Festival:* Voleanalia 431<sub>4</sub>

*Etymology:* 235<sub>2</sub> (?) 1173

*Types:* beardless 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 f.) in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062<sub>2</sub> (1 f.)

*Identified with:* Donar 210 (?)

*Associated with:* Minerva and Mercurius 209 f.

## Volsci

*Cult:* Iupiter Anxurus 1155

Volsiniensis (or Tarquiniensis), Lake, floating islands in 1013

Vrtra 273<sub>2</sub> 362<sub>3</sub> 531 1134

## Wejopatis

*Cult:* Lithuanians 158

*Function:* wind 158

*Type:* bifrontal 158

Wettingen, silver *simpulum* from 938

Willingham Fen, bronze mace from 1099 f.

Wind-gods. See Anemoi, Ventī

## Wodan

*Function:* *regnator omnium deus* (?) 1117

*Identified with:* Mercurius (?) 210

See also Odhin

Wolfgang, St 1147

Woodhenge, genetically prior to Stonehenge 910<sub>4</sub>

Xanthios, f. of Leukippos 590<sub>3</sub>

Xanthos (or Xanthios), slain by Melanthos 1105

Xanthos, the logographer 519

Xenoi Tekmoreioi 1125

Xonthos 109<sub>7</sub>

Yahweh 884. See Jehovah

Yama, the two hell-hounds of 410<sub>6</sub> ff.

Yggdrasil 404<sub>6</sub> 498<sub>2</sub>

Yima 1184

## Ymir

*Myth:* bears female-child and male-child from his arm-pit, and six-headed son from his feet 98<sub>6</sub> (7)

## Zagreus

*Rite:* annual death and resurrection 953

*Function:* the Cretan Zeus 953

*Etymology:* 953<sub>2</sub> 1103

Zagron. See Zagros, Mt

Zagros, Mt 953<sub>2</sub> 1103

## Zan

*In relation to:* Pan 1131

Zanes, plural of Zan 1130

## Zankle

*Cult:* Zeus *Ἰσχυδρας* (?) 1153 f.

— coin of 1153 f.

Zedekiah 1090

Zefs 1171. See Zeus

Zenes, plural of Zen 1130

Zephyros 130

Zervan 914<sub>6</sub>

## Zethos

*Etymology:* 1135 (?)

— and Amphion (bibliography) 1135

## Zeus

*Cults:* Achaeans 650<sub>6</sub> 1164 Agrigentum

525 1171 f. Algeira 1107 f. Aigina 650<sub>6</sub>

1164 f. Ak Kiliase 1140 (?) Akmonia

794 Akraiphia 1162 Alexandria

1191 Aliphra 99<sub>6</sub> 127<sub>6</sub> Amastris

148 Amathous in Kypros 653<sub>6</sub> 1187

Anthedon 1187 Antimacheia 562

Antiocheia on the Orontes 22 Mt

Apesas 1165 Aphrodisias in Karia

1191 Argos 142<sub>6</sub> 455 563 631 Arkadia

525 Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 1172

Athens 212<sub>2</sub> 243 317 569<sub>2</sub> 570 ff. 575<sub>2</sub>

604<sub>2</sub> 721<sub>4</sub> 749 939<sub>2</sub> 1047 1185 f. 1189

Attike 318 f. 563 1196 Bithynia 1160

Boiotia 61<sub>2</sub> Bosphoros 142 ff. Bostra

912 912<sub>4</sub> Bulgaria 1126 Byblos 1163

Chalko 544<sub>2</sub> Chersonesos Thraikike

1183 Corinth 526 Corycain Cave

651<sub>6</sub> Crete 953 Delos 152 ff. 1162

Didyma near Miletos 563 Dion in

Makedonia 1068 Dios Choron 22

Dorylaeion 1191 Dura-Europos 890 f.

1095 1163 Elaioussa Sebaste 643<sub>6</sub>

645<sub>6</sub> Eleusis 598 (?) 605<sub>6</sub> (?) Ephesos

422<sub>6</sub> 1174 Euboea 912<sub>2</sub> 1042 (?)

Galatia 1140 Gaza 556 ff. Gortyna

413<sub>6</sub> Gümbet in Phrygia 1160

Gythion 884<sub>6</sub> 939 ff. Halikarnassos

569 Halos 1167 Haurán 1163 Heliopolis

in Syria 888 Hierapytna 413<sub>6</sub>

Mt Hymettos 526 Mt Hynnaron

1177 Iasos 1162 İnönü in Phrygia

1160 Kaisareia in Kappadokia 1177

Kanatha 555 Kapisa 545 Kara Adili

1071 Karoussa 951 Karystos 126<sub>4</sub> 127

Mt Kasion in Egypt 1177 Mt Kasion

in Syria 1177 Kassandreia 882<sub>2</sub>

Kavak 628 ff. Mt Kenaion 1166 Keos

266 f. Kephallenia 1171 Mt Kithairon

1042 Klazomenai 1117 Mt Kokkygion

63 65 Mt Koreasos 323 Korkyra 271<sub>3</sub>

1184 Kos 564 ff. Kranioi (?) 1171

Mt Kynthos 1172 Kypros 652<sub>6</sub>

762<sub>2</sub> Kyrene 1188 Kyrrhos 794

Kyzikos 1071 Mt Laphystion in

Boiotia 525 Larissa in Thessaly 279

Lebadeia 61<sub>2</sub> 562 f. 1182 Lindos

1124 Lokroi Epizephyrioi 1097 Mt

Lykaion 267 Lyttos 525 Magnesia ad

Maeandrum 239<sub>2</sub> 599<sub>2</sub> 604<sub>2</sub> Megara

569<sub>2</sub> 1165 Messene 525 1130 Meta-

pontum 1097 Miletos 7<sub>2</sub> 912 1111

1192 Mylasa 1140 1162 1181 Mytilene

6 1184 Nabataioi 1097 Nakoleia

1160 f. Naukratis 1187 Nemea 1083 ff.

Nikaia in Bithynia 1184 Nikopolis

in Moesia 1157 Nisyros 1187 Oasis

of Siwah 882<sub>2</sub> Olba 642<sub>2</sub> Olbia 653<sub>2</sub>

654<sub>6</sub> 655<sub>6</sub> 656<sub>6</sub> Olympia 954 ff. 1147

Mt Olympos in Makedonia 236 737<sub>2</sub>

Orchomenos in Boiotia 949<sub>2</sub> Mt Oros

1164 Oxyrhynchos 1076 Palmyra

1112 Panamara 1066 Mt Parnes 526

Paros 1173 Pedasa 562 Peisaius 659<sub>6</sub>

## Zeus (cont.)

1196 Mt Pelion 31 f. 317 1161 Pellana in Achaia 1187 Pelousion 817<sub>0</sub> Pergamon 872 1125 1182 1191 Phaistos 1043<sub>0</sub> Pharsalos 281 f. Pheraí 271 ff. 277 ff. Philadelphiea in Lydia 652<sub>0</sub> Phokis 61, Phrygia 1112 1125 f. 1162 Pisidia 1162 Pompeii 1189 Priamos 413<sub>0</sub> Pythion 1114 f. 1157 Rhodes 525 Rhytion 1148 Salamis 650<sub>0</sub> (?) Salamis in Kypros 646<sub>0</sub> ff. Salhad 1098 Samos 1027 ff. 1187 Sedasa 1071 Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos 161 Seleukeia Pieria 884<sub>0</sub> Selinuos 1188 f. Sestos 656<sub>0</sub> (?) Silsilia 349 Mt Skylilion 413<sub>0</sub> Smyrna 22 Sounion 1184 Sparta 160 1162 Stratonikeia 544<sub>0</sub> 568 1066 1162 Stratos in Akarnania 1166 f. Sympheropolis 1173 Synnada 212<sub>2</sub> 1070 Syracuse 148 Syria 890 f. Tanagra 567<sub>0</sub> Tarentum 1097 Temenothyrá 1104 Termessus (Termessus Maior) 1176 Thasos 1115 1125 1181 Thebai Phthiotides 1187 Thebes in Boiotia 762<sub>2</sub> Thebes in Egypt 837 1131 Thera 161 (?) Thermos in Aitolia 1184 Thespiai 1066 1070 1148 1162 1165 1187 Thessaly 525 Thraco-Phrygians 874 Thrakia Kome 880 f. Mt Tmolos 562 Mt Tomaros or Tmaros near Dodona 1168 Mt Tomori near Berat (?) 1168 ff. Tralleis 22 Zankle 1153 f.

*Epithets:* ἀγαθὸς 961<sub>1</sub> Ἀγαμέμνων 269<sub>2</sub> 1181 ἄγιος 945 ἄγλαός 1126 ἄγνός 1071 Ἀγοραῖος Θάσιος 1181 ἀθάνατος 508<sub>2</sub> ἀβαράτων βασιλεὺς 35<sub>0</sub> αἰγίοχος 314 844<sub>0</sub> 866 866<sub>0</sub> 866<sub>0</sub> 867 1156 αἰθέρι ναιών 743<sub>0</sub> αἰθέριος 1066 Αἰθριος 1066 Αἰρητίος 1171 αἰολοβρόντας 107<sub>2</sub> αἰολομορφος 107<sub>2</sub> Αἰολος 107<sub>2</sub> (?) 141 (?) Ἀκραῖος 1043<sub>2</sub> Ἀκταῖος 68 260 317 1043<sub>2</sub> 1161 ἀλάστωρ 952 Ἀλδήμιος or Ἄλδος 556 Ἀλεξίκακος 879<sub>2</sub> Ἀμάρσιος 1114 Ἀμάρσιος (?) = Ουάριος 1114 Ἀμμων 882<sub>2</sub> 884<sub>0</sub> 912<sub>4</sub> 1076 1078 Ἀμφιάρατος 269<sub>2</sub> 1181 ἀμφιβαλὴς 1181 f. ἀναξ 560<sub>0</sub> 1066 1085 1113 ἀναξ μακάρων 1183 Ἀπεσάντιος 1165 Ἀπήμενος 526 Ἀποτρόπαιος 1187 ἀργεῖραινος 34<sub>2</sub> Ἀρισταῖος 267 ff. ἀριστοτέχνης 567<sub>0</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> ἄρρη 726<sub>0</sub> Ἀρσάμας 1140 Ἀσείς 1106 f. Ἀσκληπιός 269<sub>2</sub> 973<sub>0</sub> 1182 Ἀσκραῖος 569 Ἀστέρσιος 953 954 Ἀστράπιος 70 ἀστράπιος 21<sub>0</sub> Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes 525 1172 Ἀταβύριος in Sicily 525 Ἀταβύριος in Sympheropolis 655<sub>0</sub> 1173 αὐξητής 21<sub>0</sub> Ἀφάσιος 1165 Ἀφροῖος 271 ff. βαρέκτυπος 811<sub>1</sub> βασιλεὺς 52<sub>4</sub> 61<sub>1</sub> 654<sub>0</sub> Βερνέας 1162 Βέντιος 1162 Βένυλος 890 f. 944 Βῆλος 1112 Βορεαῖος (?) 161 Βόρειος 161 944 Βουλαῖος 1125 Βουλεύς 1124 Βου-

## Zeus (cont.)

σούριος 1140 Βρύμβιος (?) 531 βρονταῖος 21<sub>0</sub> Βροντῶν 1160 f. Βροντῶν καὶ Πατὴρ Θεός (?) 1161 Βροντῶν Νεικήτωρ Πατὴρ (?) 1161 γαιδοχος 10<sub>4</sub> Δαρμάτριος 1124 Δικαῖος 951 Δικαῖος 951 Δικαῖος Μέγας 951 Δικαῖος δαμοεργὴ καὶ εὐνοίας (?) 964<sub>2</sub> Διομεύς 595<sub>0</sub> Διώνσιος 1126 Δίος 1125 Δολιχαῖος 1097 f. (bibliography) Δουσαρήν 944 Δουσαρήν Σωτήρ (?) 912 Δωδωναῖος 560<sub>0</sub> 567<sub>0</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> 10<sub>0</sub> 6 1113 Εἰλαπιαστής 652<sub>0</sub> 762<sub>2</sub> Εἰλήτη (?) 762<sub>2</sub> εἰρηνικός καὶ παρταχοῦ πρῶτος, οἷος ἀστασιάζοντος καὶ ὁμονοοῦσιν τῇς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος 963<sub>2</sub> ἐκ Πείσης 967<sub>1</sub> Ἐλαῖος (?) 762<sub>2</sub> Ἐλευθέριος 212<sub>2</sub> 581<sub>0</sub> 654<sub>0</sub> 1097 1130 1176 1184 1186 Ἐλευσίς 762<sub>2</sub> Ἑλλάνιος 1164 f. Ἑλέμνιος 1042 (?) Ἐνδεύδωρος 1173 ἐν Ὀλυμπίῳ 967<sub>1</sub> ἐν Παλλαδίῳ 609<sub>0</sub> ἐξ Αἰόλης 1160 Ἐπαφῖος 99<sub>0</sub> (?) Ἐπῆκοις 652<sub>0</sub> 1160 Ἐπῆκοις Θεός 1160 Ἐπιδώτας 1130 Ἐπικάρπιος 912 912<sub>2</sub> 964 ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ 609<sub>0</sub> Ἐπιδέλειος 964<sub>0</sub> 309<sub>4</sub> 1112 ἐργιδουτος 61<sub>1</sub> Ἐρεκίος 243 455 749 Ἐρριος 261 944 Ἐρσαῖος 265 (?) 944 Ἐρμιός 261<sub>2</sub> Ἐταιρείος 963 Εὐάκτος 160 f. 944 εὐάκτουτος 147<sub>1</sub> 147<sub>2</sub> Εὐβουλεύς 312 1124 Εὐελίδης 762<sub>2</sub> εὐήνεμος 160<sub>2</sub> εὐδών 990 Ἐφέστιος 1189 Ἐφόριος 1183 Φελχάνος 1043<sub>0</sub> 1173 f. Ζβελθοῦρος 1159 Ζβελθοῦρος 1159 Ἥλιος (See Identification) Ἡραῖος 1047 Θάσιος (See Ἀγοραῖος) Θαῖλιος 277 ff. 603 Θεμιστιος 949<sub>2</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> Θεός 1095 θεόταυρε (v. l. αὐταῖρε) 1086 Θηβαῖος 837 θῆλυς 726<sub>0</sub> Ἰδαῖος in Crete 953 Ἰθωμάτας 525 1153 f. Ἰκτίσιος 951 f. 963 Ἰκτίνας 952 Ἰκμαῖος 157<sub>2</sub> (?) 266 f. 320<sub>4</sub> 944 Ἰκμενος 157 944 Ἰκμοι 268 καθάρσιος 21<sub>0</sub> Καλακτάδιος 1162 Καππώτας 884<sub>0</sub> 939 ff. 944 Καραῖος 32<sub>2</sub> 1148 1162 1165 Κάρσιος 569<sub>2</sub> Κάσιος in Egypt 817<sub>0</sub> 1177 Κάσιος in Korkyra 271<sub>2</sub> Κάσιος in Syria 334<sub>2</sub> 884<sub>0</sub> 1140 1177 Κάσι(ο)ς Σω[ί]ων 1177 Καταβάτης 942<sub>2</sub> 1114 f. 1115 κελαεινός 33 f. Κεραῖος 1162 1165 Κεράστης (?) 652<sub>0</sub> Κεραῖος 70 884<sub>0</sub> 1157 κεραῖος 21<sub>0</sub> Κεραυνός 743<sub>0</sub> 942<sub>2</sub> 1114 Κήραιος (Κηραῖος) 1160 κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτήρα καὶ φύλακα 963<sub>2</sub> Κόνιος (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκατίτης, nor Χρόνιος) 569<sub>2</sub> 1165 Κρηταγενής 551 553<sub>2</sub> 555 556 1092 Κροῖδης 34 633<sub>0</sub> 743<sub>0</sub> 866<sub>0</sub> 1183 Κροῖων 33 f. 107<sub>2</sub> 265<sub>2</sub> 1085 Κρήσιος 964 1180 1181 Κρήσιος Πατρώος 1181 κύστιος 34<sub>2</sub> Κύνθιος 1172 Κῆριος 1095 1098 (See also Μάρσιος) Λαφάστιος in Boiotia and Thessaly 321<sub>0</sub> Λαφάστιος in Thessaly 525 1080 1167 Λεχεάτης 99<sub>0</sub> 127<sub>0</sub> Λιταῖος 1184 Λύκατος



## Zeus (cont.)

267 525 580<sub>1</sub> 1068 Μαζεύς 1112  
Μαιμάκτης 321<sub>1</sub> Μάναφος 1163  
Μάρκατ ὁ Κύριος 555 μέγα θαύμα,  
μέγ' ἀνθρώποις δεικνύει 947 Μέγας  
531<sub>1</sub> 1098 (See also Δικαιοσύνης) μέγας  
928 949<sub>2</sub> μεγασθενής 567<sub>1</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> Μέγ-  
ιστος 1160 1163 1172 (See also  
Νεφέλης) μέγιστος 34<sub>2</sub> μέγιστος θεός  
1112 Μελίχιος 951 1184 1187 ff.  
Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1188 Μελ-  
ίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1187 Μισέρκιος  
243<sub>2</sub> Μήλιος 1172 Μηλίσιος 32<sub>3</sub>  
μηρίστα 567<sub>1</sub> 743 745 μηρίστης 727<sub>3</sub>  
μηρίστας 743 928 Μηχανεύς 142<sub>2</sub> 321<sub>1</sub>  
566<sub>2</sub> 567<sub>1</sub> Μιλίχιος (= Μελίχιος)  
1187 1188 Μισραγέτης 721<sub>4</sub> Μόριος  
762 Νάιος 320<sub>1</sub> 1078 Νέμειος 1191  
νεφεληγέρτα 30 ff. 296 314 321<sub>1</sub>  
Νεφέλης ὁ Μέγιστος 349 Νόσιος 7<sub>2</sub>  
1111 Νέσιος 32<sub>2</sub> 653<sub>1</sub> 964 1184 1189  
ὀδηγητήρ 147<sub>1</sub> Ὀλβιος 628 ff. 1194  
1196 Ὀλύμπιος 188 236 320<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>2</sub> 648<sub>1</sub>  
649<sub>1</sub> 737<sub>2</sub> 954 967<sub>1</sub> 1068 1107 1155  
1165 1196 Ὀμάριος 1114 Ὀμβριος 320<sub>4</sub>  
324<sub>2</sub> (?) 525 ff. 562 873<sub>4</sub> 874 944 Ὀμό-  
γυνος 963 Ὀριος 1183 Ὀριος 946 1147  
Ὀρσίλοχος 99<sub>1</sub> (?) ὀρσινεφής 35<sub>1</sub>  
Ὀσσοῦα 1140 ὀσσοῦ... κέρωντι 35<sub>2</sub>  
Ὀθριος 142 ff. 944 ὀθριος 567<sub>1</sub> παγ-  
κρατής 10<sub>4</sub> Πάλαξος (?) 1140 Παρά-  
μαρος 544<sub>2</sub> 1066 Πάριδος 212 Πάνδρο-  
σος 260 (?) Παρελλήνιος (?) Hadrian)  
422<sub>1</sub> Πανομφαίος 320<sub>1</sub> 1076 Παρόπτης  
1086 πάταρχος θεῶν 53<sub>1</sub> Παντεπόπτης  
1086 παντόπτης 53<sub>1</sub> παντοπτεύς 21<sub>1</sub>  
Πάσιος 1181 πάτερ (voc.) 471 567<sub>1</sub> 737<sub>2</sub>  
947 949<sub>1</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> Πατήρ 949<sub>1</sub> 1060<sub>2</sub> (See  
also Βροντῶν) Πατρώος 585<sub>1</sub> 964<sub>2</sub> 1125  
1174 Πατρώος (= Augustus) 1191  
(See also Κρήσιος) Πεωδῆς 1111  
Πελασγικός 560<sub>1</sub> 1113 περίγειος 1066  
Πελαιαίος (?) 575<sub>2</sub> Πολυαῖος (?) 575<sub>2</sub>  
Πολιάρχη 654<sub>1</sub> Πολιεύς 317 565  
570 ff. 720 755 757 963 1194 πολυ-  
νεφέλης 35<sub>2</sub> Πόλωτος (?) 1140 Πορφυ-  
ρίων (?) 55<sub>2</sub> Προμηθεύς (?) 1075  
Σαβάζιος 87<sub>1</sub> 12 Σαλαμίνιος (?) 648<sub>1</sub>  
649<sub>1</sub> Σάρατις 973<sub>1</sub> σεισίχτων 21  
Σημάλιος 267<sub>1</sub> Σελῖος 413<sub>1</sub> 1148  
Σελῖος 413<sub>1</sub> 414<sub>1</sub> 416<sub>1</sub> 1148 Σολυμενίς  
1176 Σπάλαξος 114<sub>1</sub> Σπαραγγροῦμος  
652<sub>1</sub> Στρατηγός 148 Συκάσιος 1184  
σχινοκέφαλος 32<sub>2</sub> Σωσίπολις 239<sub>1</sub>  
599<sub>1</sub> 604<sub>2</sub> Σωτήρ 563 575<sub>1</sub> 654<sub>1</sub>  
659<sub>1</sub> 1163 1177 1181 1184 1196 (See  
also Δουδάρις) Σωτήρ 35<sub>2</sub> Ταργυνός  
651<sub>1</sub> 652<sub>1</sub> Τέλειος 609 948<sub>1</sub> 949<sub>1</sub> 1060<sub>2</sub>  
Τελεσιουργός 1192 Τερπαστιος 939  
Τυάριος 1168 τὸν βίον καὶ ζωὴν καὶ  
συνπατῶν δοτήρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν 963<sub>2</sub>  
τοῦ κατ' ἀστρο Ζηνός 1112 Τρεφώνιος  
οἱ Τρεφώνιος 269<sub>1</sub> 1182 Τροπαιοφόρος  
1117 Τρεφώνιος 1182 (See also  
Τρεφώνιος) τύραννος 1102 Τέτιος 319<sub>1</sub>

## Zeus (cont.)

320<sub>1</sub> 531 561 ff. 561<sub>2</sub> 878 944 τέτιος  
473<sub>2</sub> Τητ (Τῆτ?) 873 f. 944 Τηταρεῖς  
1177 Τηταρος 531 945 964<sub>2</sub> ὑψίγυτος  
743<sub>2</sub> ὑψιμέδων 1115 ὑψινεφής 35<sub>2</sub>  
Τψιστος 939<sub>4</sub> 945 1162 ff. Φαλακρός  
(Φάλακρος) 321<sub>1</sub> Φάττιος 1126 Φειδωκός  
966 Φίλιος 951 963 1189 1191 (See also  
Ἐπιτέλειος) φίλος 317<sub>4</sub> 319<sub>2</sub> Φόξιος  
963 φυτάλιος 21<sub>4</sub> Φότιος 1071 Χαλάξ-  
ιος 944 Χαλάξιος Σώζων 880 f.  
Χειρογόνος 99<sub>1</sub> (?) χροτόμορφοι 456<sub>1</sub>  
Ἐρομάσθη 951

*Festivals:* Bounphonia (See *Rites:* βου-  
φόνια) Dia 320<sub>1</sub> Diisoteria 575<sub>1</sub> Διός

• βοῦτ (See *Rites:* Dipolieia 317 574 ff.

*Rites:* βοηγία 563 Βουφόνια 570 576 ff.

873 Διός βοῦν 564 Διός κώδων 602<sub>1</sub>

1081 ὁ διὰ κώδων θεός 775<sub>1</sub> human

sacrifice to Iupiter *Hesperes* (Zeus

*Xénios*) at Amathous in Kypros 653<sub>1</sub>

human sacrifice to Zeus at Lyttos

525 human sacrifice to Zeus in

Kypros 652<sub>1</sub> human sacrifice to Zeus

*Atabégrios* in Rhodes and Sicily 525

human sacrifice to Zeus *Ithomdatis*

in Messene 525 human sacrifice to

Zeus *Kretagenés* (Marnas) at Gaza

554 f. human sacrifice to Zeus

*Laphéstios* in Thessaly and Boiotia

525 human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*

in Arkadia 267 525 1068 human

sacrifice to Zeus *Ombrios* at Elis

267 525 f. libation of honey to Zeus

*Éndendros* in Paros 1173 monthly

banquet in sanctuary of Zeus

*Hýpistos* 1163 procession of goat

leading priest 569 procession of rain-

makers clad in sheep-skins 31 f. 68 f.

rain-magic 314 ff. sacrifice of bull

to Zeus *Ólbios* 630 sacrifice of bull,

ram, he-goat, boar etc. to Zeus

*Hýétios*, according to wealth of

donor 318 563 sacrifice of ox

representing Zeus *Polieús* 606

sacrifice of ox to Zeus *Sotér* 22

sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Heraíos* 1047

sacrifice of sixty rams to (Zeus)

*Machaneús* 566<sub>2</sub> sacrifice of sheep to

Zeus *Hórios* 1183 sacrifice of she-

goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 sacrifice

of self-chosen goat 569 sacrifice of

self-chosen ox 581 ff. sacrifice of

white bull by Bektashi monks on

Mt Tomori near Berat 1171

ὀροφόρος pour water over axe and

knife at Dipolieia 317 583 604

*Priests:* P. Aelius Aristides 872 ἀρ-

χιερεῖς καὶ συνεποσάρχης τῶν ἱερῶν

1112 ἀρχιερεῖς μέγας 642<sub>1</sub> 645<sub>1</sub> βοέτης

589 f. (?) βοῦντόπος 585 ff. at Corycian

Cave 631<sub>1</sub> βοῦφόρος 583 586 φακῆρος

155<sub>1</sub> 155<sub>2</sub> ἱερεῖς 155<sub>1</sub> 155<sub>2</sub> ἱερεῖς διὰ

βίον 1176 ελαιοδύχος 155<sub>1</sub> of Zeus ἐν

Παλλάδιω drawn from Bouzygai 609

## Zeus (cont.)

of Zeus *Teleios* drawn from Bou-  
zygai 609 τομῆροι (τῆμοροι) 1168  
ὑποφῆται 1168 Φαιδριῶται 967

Priestesses: ὑδροφόροι 583 603

Worshippers: Ἐρμιασταί, Ἀπολλωνια-  
σταί, Πανιδωμιασταί 155 ἱερῶνδολοι  
648<sub>o</sub>

## Personated by Aeolian kings 141

Alexander the Great 540<sub>o</sub> alytarch  
of Olympian games at Antiocheia  
on the Orontes 562<sub>o</sub> Antiochos I of  
Kommagene 951 (?) Antoninus Pius  
1130 Augustus 1125 1191 Caligula  
969, Caracalla 37<sub>o</sub> Commodus 37<sub>o</sub>  
dead man 309<sub>o</sub> Demetrios Polior-  
ketes 1115 Domitian 37<sub>o</sub> early Greek  
kings 733 Epopeus (?) 1112 Geta 37<sub>o</sub>  
hierophant 301<sub>o</sub> Ixion 141 Keyx  
141 Nero 1117 Perikles 32<sub>o</sub> 66<sub>o</sub>  
Pisthetairos 21 59 f. priestly king  
at Stratonikeia 558 (?) Roman  
emperors 537<sub>o</sub> 537<sub>o</sub> Salmoneus 141  
Trajan (?) 1191

Myths: adoption of Dionysos by  
simulated birth from himself 89;  
adoption of Herakles by simulated  
birth from Hera 89, Aiolois 106 f.  
Aix 839<sub>o</sub> 840<sub>o</sub> Amphion 54<sub>o</sub> as infant  
entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by  
Themis to Amaltheia, by Amaltheia  
to her goat 839<sub>o</sub> as infant guarded  
by sword-dance of Kouretes and  
Korymbantes 1070 Asterie 984 f. at  
first tries in vain to learn Pro-  
metheus' secret 740 f. at last  
succeeds in learning Prometheus' secret  
741 bestows his intended bride  
Thetis upon Peleus 741 f. birth of  
Dionysos 79 ff. blinds Lykourgos,  
s. of Dryas 228, born on Mt Tmolos  
562 carries off Hera from Euboeia to  
Boiotia 1042 cleaves cloud in Crete  
and so produces Athena 727 comes  
to 'anchorage' at Hermione 1043

consorts with a succession of  
seven wives listed by Hesiod as  
— Metis, Themis, Eurynome,  
Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, Hera  
744<sub>o</sub> Aigina d. of Asopos 1121 f.  
Alkmene 506 ff. 518 Antiope 467  
469 615<sub>o</sub> Danaë 455 ff. 518 944  
Demeter 301<sub>o</sub> 744<sub>o</sub> Deo or  
Demeter 615<sub>o</sub> Europe 469 615<sub>o</sub>  
Eurynome 744<sub>o</sub> Ge Themis 949  
Hera 35 58 65 111 111<sub>o</sub> 180 744<sub>o</sub> (?)  
1025 ff. Himalia 477 518 Io 615<sub>o</sub>  
Leda 462, 467 469 Leto 744<sub>o</sub> 1042  
Metis 744<sub>o</sub> Mnemosyne 744<sub>o</sub> (?)  
Myrtil 1111 Othreis 246 Pasiphae  
615<sub>o</sub> Selene 179 f. 1111 Themis  
744<sub>o</sub> 1064 f.

contends with Poseidon for  
Aigina 751, courts Hera for three  
hundred years 1025 creates the

## Zeus (cont.)

world anew inside himself 745 de-  
poses Kronos 966 Dionysos sewn up  
in thigh of Zeus 79 Διὸς ἀνδρῶν 35  
180 924 1065 Διὸς θῆκε καὶ πύσσος  
(ψῆφος) 600<sub>o</sub> 757<sub>o</sub> division of the  
world between the sons of Kronos 34  
drinks of Nile and begets Ares 344<sub>o</sub>  
Endymion 74 expelled in infancy  
by Kronos 1187 extinguishes pyre  
by timely rain 506 ff. fights with  
Typhon 191<sub>o</sub> flays the goat Amal-  
theia and wears its skin 839 flings  
Hephaistos down to Lemnos 235  
Ganymedes 469 955, 981 f. gets aigis  
from Hephaistos 866 f. Gigantes  
792, 966 gives cup to Alkmene 507<sub>o</sub>  
hangs up Hera with Alkmene  
fastened to her feet 924 head cleft  
by Hephaistos 660 f. head cleft by  
Hermes 661 head cleft by Palamaon  
661 head cleft by Prometheus 661  
hidden from Kronos in Crete 933  
Iasion 75 f. Io 631 ff. 1082 Ixion 74 f.  
leaps upon Phanes and swallows  
him 745 lends aigis to Apollon 314<sub>o</sub>  
lends thunderbolt to Athena 868  
Leucadian rock 941, Metis 567<sub>o</sub>

nursed by Hyades (?) 1082  
Meters in Crete 225, Peleides (?)  
1082

nurtured by bears 953 doves 975  
prince slain by wild boar and  
buried in Crete 1070 rains am-  
brosia at birth of Dionysos 477 500  
rains blood before battle between  
Achaeans and Trojans 478 rains  
blood before death of Sarpedon the  
Lycian 323 478 rains blood before  
single fight between Herakles and  
Kyknos 478 f. rains golden snow at  
birth of Athena 477 670 719 rains  
golden snow at wooing of Alkmene  
477 507 rains stones to help Herakles  
fighting Ligurians 483 492 rains  
wine etc. in Utopia 500 Salmoneus  
141 966 Semele 82<sub>o</sub> swallows Metis  
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Fig. 932.

*Zeus Olympios*  
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 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica*  
 p. 104 no. 754 pl. 18, 4. E.  
 Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes*  
 Paris 1848 p. 396 fig., Imhoof-  
 Blumer and P. Gardner *Num.*  
*Comm. Paur.* iii. 137 f. pl. 88, 4.  
 J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies*  
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 pl. 92, 1 Athens, 2 London)  
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## Breasts (cont.)

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Bride or bridegroom ceremonially married to men and maidens who have died unwed 394

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Bruce, J. D. 509<sub>2</sub>

Brückner, A. 64<sub>0</sub> 113 132 373

Brugmann, K. 95<sub>0</sub> 792<sub>4</sub> 976 f.

Brunn, H. 718<sub>0</sub> (2)

Bucher, P. 1076

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*Bucranium* in pediment of temple 645<sub>0</sub> on altar, filleted 759<sub>4</sub> on coins of Athens 1194 on *stèle*, filleted 1148

*Bucrania*, two, with frontlets, above plough 1160 with festoon on Arretine mould 1003

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Budimir, M. 112<sub>2</sub> 121<sub>1</sub> 123<sub>2</sub> 128 140

Büchler, J. C. H. 164<sub>2</sub>

Bugge, S. 259<sub>0</sub> f.

Bulas, K. 1081

Bull and acrobat in bronze from Crete 1091 as animal form of Zeus 615 ff. 628 as animal form of Zeus *Olbios* 631 as procreative power 945 as substitute for Iphigeneia 233, hung in tree for Athena at Ilion 283, monstrous, supports earth and causes earthquakes 3<sub>0</sub> of bronze dedicated on the Akropolis at Athens by council of Areiopagos 612 614 of bronze in bowl surrounded by millet 1101 of copper in Castle of Copper 1102 f. on coins of Selinous 614<sub>2</sub> ridden by earth-goddess 1125 sacrificed to Poseidon on pillar in Atlantis 283<sub>1</sub>

## Bull (cont.)

sent up from sea by Poseidon 628, solar 1032 1065 white, carries Europe 620<sub>0</sub> 627<sub>0</sub> white, plays with Europe 622<sub>0</sub> 622<sub>(3)</sub> white, sacrificed to Zeus by Bektashi monks on Mt Tomori near Berat 1171 with crescent moon on side 1101 with gilded horns 280 with rosette on forehead 1098 with six-rayed star on side 1101 with three horns 1099 1100 with trefoil marks on body and round spots (stars of the Great Wain) on shoulder and leg 1101

Bulls enclosing human victims 1114 sacrificed to Zeus 1110 wooden, in hail-charm 877

'Bulls,' cup-bearers of Poseidon called 599<sub>(2)</sub>

Bull-carrying 1091 1114

Bull-cult in Celtic lands 1102 in Iberia 1090 in Sardinia 1110 in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Phoinike, Crete, etc. 1101

Bull-fights of Basques 1090 of Cretans 601<sub>0</sub> 1090 f. of Spaniards 1090

Bull-headed furnace at Byzantion 1102

Bull-headed gods from the Haurán 1098 Bull-mask worn by votary or priest in Kypros 1068 1090

Bull's-hide, black, worn by 'Jack of the Hammer' 1142 of Argos, watcher of Io 837 See also Ox-hide

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Bull-standards of Egyptian nomes 884<sub>0</sub>

*Bullae* of gold foil 88<sub>0</sub> 1110 f. worn by Dionysos 88<sub>0</sub> worn by Eros 92<sub>0</sub>

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Bunbury, E. H. 493<sub>2</sub> 1012 f.

Buonarroti, F. 133

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by keys 877 by mirror 876 by owl

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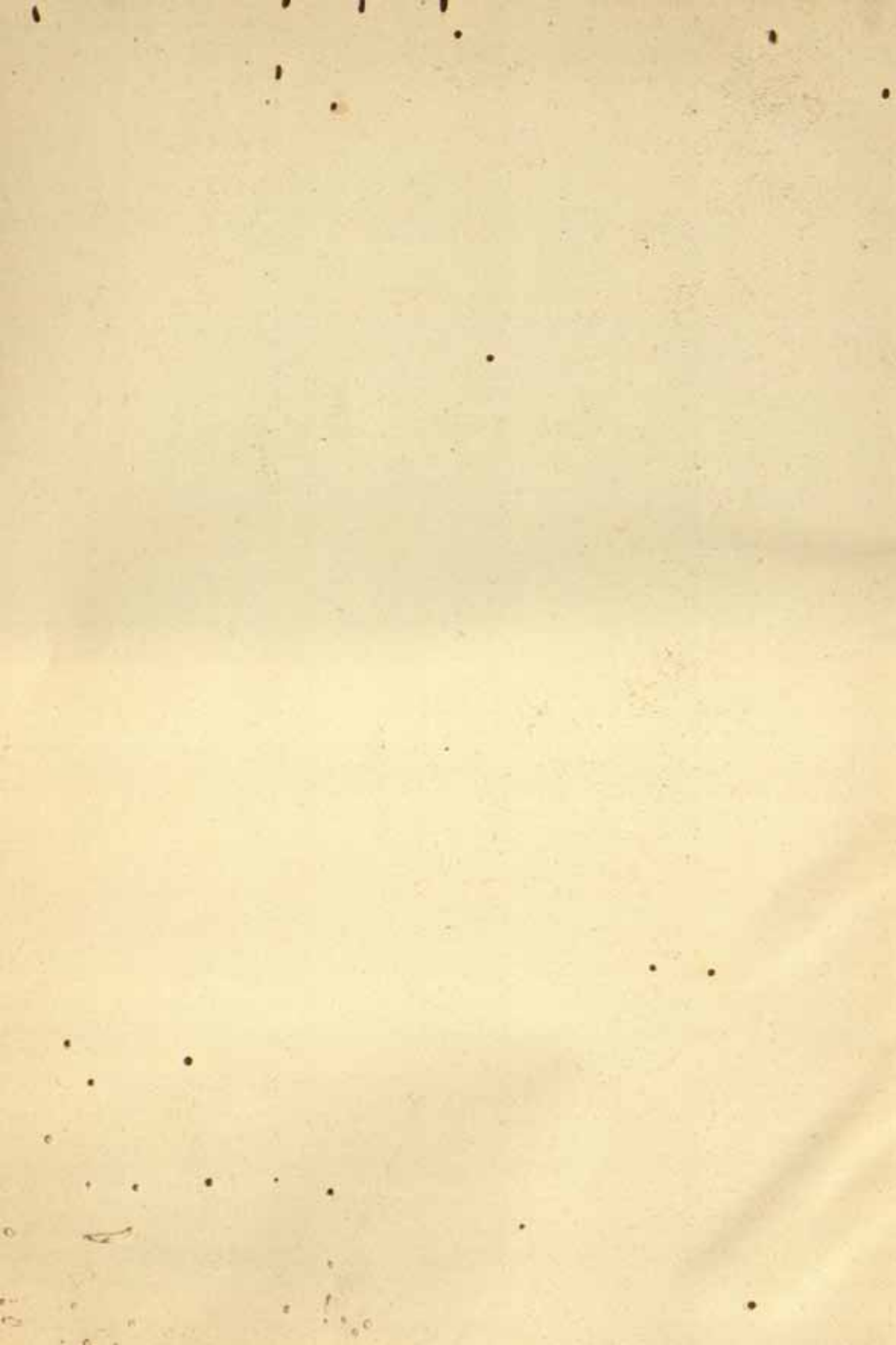
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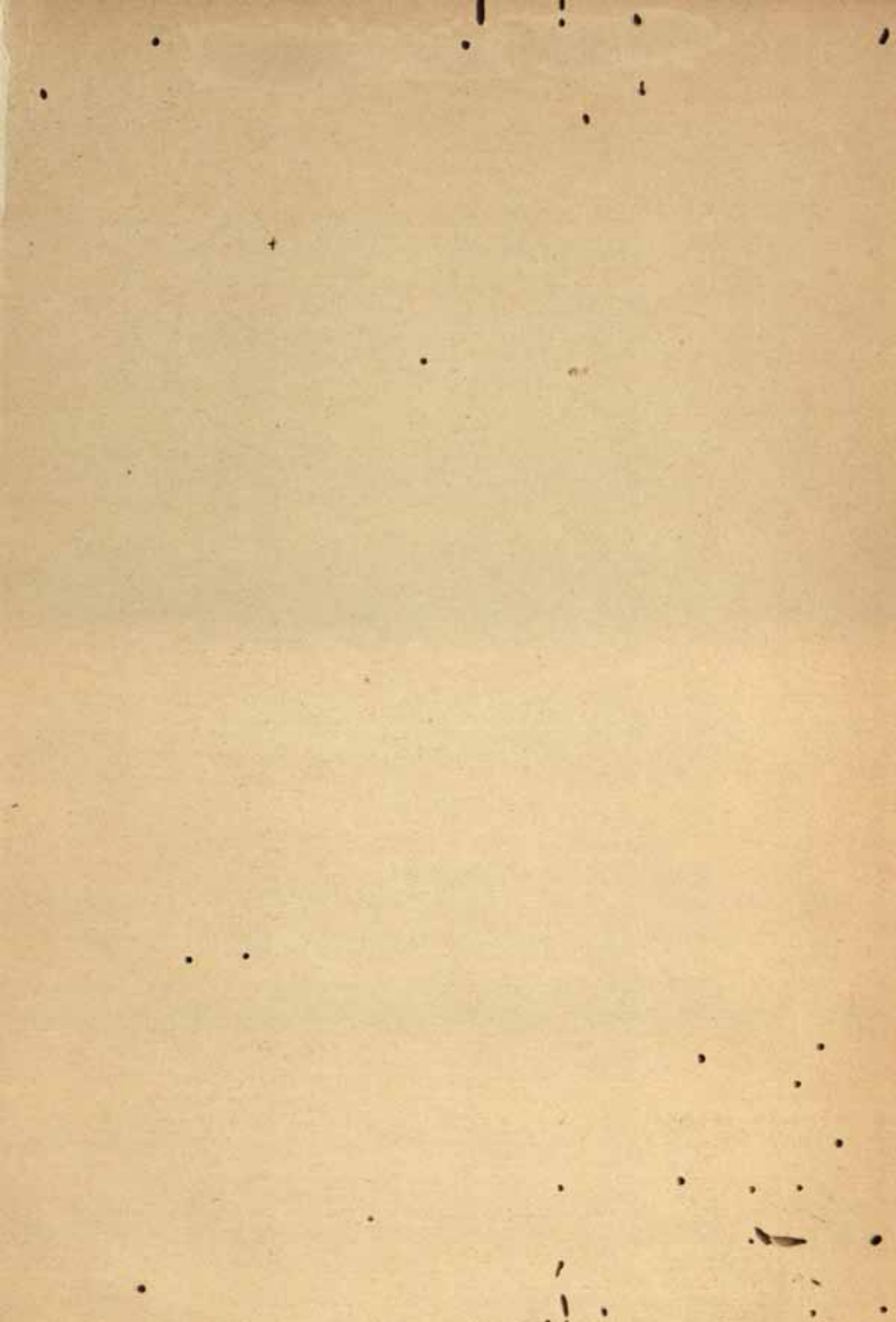
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